

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1895.

ANOTHER NOTE ON RECENT BRITICISMS.

IN a little paper in MOD. LANG. NOTES (December, 1894) I suggested the necessity of a dictionary of Briticisms. We have more than one dictionary of Americanisms, although no one of them is really adequate or satisfactory. Yet we have no dictionary of Briticisms, although the current vocabulary of Great Britain abounds in words and phrases peculiar to the inhabitants of the British Isles and often not acceptable to that large majority of the English-speaking peoples which does not inhabit England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The fact has to be faced that the inhabitants of the British Isles are now no longer the sole owners of the English language. The variations of their speech from "standard English" deserve to be recorded quite as much as the variations in America or in Australia. And these British variations from "standard English" are, I think, quite as numerous nowadays as the American variations, abundant as are the latter. In the hope that I may arouse some student of linguistics to undertake the labor of preparing a dictionary of Briticisms I have here brought together a score of them.

BWARE (as a verb). Mr. W. H. Bishop sends an interesting sentence from an article by the Hon. Lionel Tollemache in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, 1876:—

'He [the traveller] will almost certainly take the opposite road, *bewaring* however, if he be an Englishman, of the Germanized Kurhaus.'

CONTINUATIVENESS. In the London *Spectator* for June 15th, 1895, is an article on "Lord Acton's First Lecture," in which we find this sentence:—

"It is probable, individually we think almost certain, that a man broke suddenly and completely the *continuativeness* of Peruvian history."

DIALOGICAL. The style of the London *Athenæum* is far more slovenly than that of any American critical weekly of like pretensions, and its columns will have to be searched

very carefully by anyone who undertakes to compile a dictionary of Briticisms. In the number for Sept. 7th, 1895, there is a review of a novel in which this sentence is to be found:—

The story is fairly amusing and very flippant; it is anything but serious, and is told in what may be called the *dialogical* style, abounding in forced and cynical repartees.

DRAW (as a noun). In a London weekly called the *Queen* and devoted to the discussion of that division of human affairs most interesting to women, there is a department of answers to correspondents. In the number for June 29th, 1895, advice is given to a lady who had apparently enquired how to make an outdoor entertainment profitable:—

"You should engage a local band, and you might inaugurate athletic sports, which are always a good *draw*, also a cricket match. These latter, well advertised, would bring a large assemblage together."

ELECTROGRAVURE. In a London monthly review called the *Bookman* and edited by a Mr. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., and in the number for June, 1895, at page 94, is to be found an editorial note referring to a new British edition of Thoreau's 'Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers' as "a pretty edition with an *electrogravure* of Thoreau's Cave." It would be interesting to know whether *electrogravure* is the invention of the editor of the *Bookman*, or of the London publisher of this unauthorized edition of an American book.

EXCESSED. On certain of the railroads of England, the habit now obtains of pasting a small label containing only the word *excessed* on the trunks of a passenger who had been forced to pay for the weight of his baggage in excess of the amount allowed by the regulations of the company. This invention of a past participle for a non-existent verb is so daring that I am in daily expectation of seeing some British critic denounce it as an Americanism.

GROOVY and GROOVINESS. In a London popular magazine called the *Idler*, in the number for July, 1895, is an article by a Mr. J. F. Nisbet, of which the opening paragraph may be quoted here:

THE Grooviness OF HUMAN NATURE.

You are lucky if, being with a sentimental or philosophical friend at some great public gathering, he does not bore you with the remark: "How strange to think that all these people, men and women, swarming denizens of a vast human ant-hill, have each their histories." It is boring because you must often have thought the same thing yourself. For such a reflection the Crystal Palace or the Earl's Court Exhibition is a convenient spot. Seeing thousands of people in the mass, one is inclined to suppose that they represent thousands of different experiences—that each life has been lived upon lines of its own, with joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, of a special brand. I doubt, however, whether this is so. Human nature is very *groovy*.

MUNICIPALIZATION: A letter to the editor of the London *Times*, pointing out the success of the tramways in Glasgow which are owned by the city itself, was published in that journal on August 20th, 1895, and it received as a title this phrase:—"The *Municipalization of Tramways*." The noun *municipalization* seems to imply the word *municipalize*, although this I have not yet happened to see in any British paper.

PLAYETTE. Attention has already been called to the Britishisms, *storiette* and *lead-erette*. Akin to these is *playette*. In the London *Queen* for August 24th, 1895, is to be found this paragraph:—

Mr. Fred. Upton has been telling for months many admirable little English *storiettes*. A three volume novel told in five minutes, "A Grandfather in spite of Himself," and "The Story of a Day," linger pleasantly in my memory. In some of the little *playettes* which have had great success, he has been ably aided by his wife.

RAIL. In a new British sporting monthly, the *Badminton Magazine*, in the number for August, 1895, there is an article by the Earl of Onslow on "The West End on Wheels." Advice is given as to the best bicycle excursions in the immediate vicinity of London. One paragraph is as follows:—

The Ripley Road has become a proverb among cyclists for excellence of metalling and beauty of scenery, and those who wish to try it cannot do better than *rail* to Surbiton, and ride thence nine miles to the Hut at Wisley, a charming little spot at the edge of a lake with rhododendron-covered islands, surrounded by pine woods and heather. The accommodation

is not, of course, first-class; so if anything in the way of entertainment be contemplated the commissariat department in the Metropolis must be relied on.

The use is to be noted of the word *metalling* to indicate the surface of a macadamized road.

SERIALIST. Among the Britishisms included in an earlier paper in these pages was *serialize*, quoted from the columns of the *Author*. It is probably the use of *serialize* that has led to the use of *serialist*, which can be found in the number of the London *World* for June 12th, 1895:—

"Miss Rhoda Broughton figures once again as a *serialist* in *Temple Bar* this month."

SERMONETTE. In the "Note on Recent Britishisms" the use of the word *essayette* by Mr. Coventry Patmore was noted. In the advertising columns of the *Bookman* for January, 1895, is to be found a word even more extraordinary, *sermonette*. The Midland Educational Co. Ltd. of Birmingham and Leamington announced that it had just published

Sermonettes from Tennyson. From Studies of Tennyson's Ethical Teachings. By Achilles Taylor. 68 pages, pseudonym 8vo, cloth, 1s.

SLANGING. In the London *Athenæum* for Sept. 7th, 1895, there is a review of a novel which concludes with this elegant sentence:—

The most satisfactory part is the *slanging all round* which they give one another at the end.

SOLUTION (as a verb). In a London weekly devoted to sport and called the *Field*, in the number for August 31st, 1895, at page 396, there is an account of a method of repairing a bicycle tire, in the course of which we are informed that "short transverse strips of canvas are *solutioned* on," etc.

TIRADE (as a verb). As a noun the French word *tirade* seems to be fairly acclimated in English; but it was left for a British author first to use it as a verb—a use for which there is, I think, no warrant in the French language. In an article on Froude in *Scribner's Magazine* for February, 1895, Mr. Augustine Birrell, Q.C., M.P., has this sentence:—

It was Carlyle's humor to fancy himself a Puritan, and he was perhaps one to this extent, at all events, that he would not allow any

one but himself to *tirade* against 'old Jews' clothes' (p. 153).

UP-TO-DATENESS. In the number of the *Author* for January, 1895, there is a note from Mr. J. M. Lely, containing this paragraph:—

Then as to "up-to-dateness." I have seen this word used in the *Referee*, but I believe it to be considered as generally unfit for serious prose. But by what word or what number of words can its obvious meaning be expressed? Surely the sooner the word, or a better single word, if such can be found, is admitted into serious prose the better.

VERT. The *Century Dictionary* notes as a British colloquialism a verb *to vert*, meaning to change from one religious sect to another. Of late this Britishism has had its meaning enlarged to include a political as well as a religious change of faith. The Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge has kindly sent me a clipping from the London *Daily Telegraph* of July 15th, in which we are informed that "among the seats which should be captured are Reading, which *verted* from Unionism in 1892, Devonport," etc.

WIN (as a noun). The *Galignani Messenger*, although published in France, is the most British of journals; and the searcher for Britishisms can find his game in almost any number of this ill-printed Parisian sheet. But it is not common to find as many as there are in the following paragraph in the issue for July 11th, 1895:—

Never has there been such a popular *win* in the whole history of the Regatta as when Trinity Hall, the only Cambridge eight entered in the Grand Challenge, paddled past the winning-post some 10 lengths ahead of the American Cornell University crew. The time of the race, 7 min. 12 sec., does not make it out very fast, as yesterday's breeze had gone down, and what little air there was blew across and not down the course. Cornell, with their very rapid stroke, gained a little after the start, but soon fell back to the Englishmen. At Fawley—reached in the quick time of 2 min. 23 sec.—they were scarcely more than their canvas ahead. From that point, rowing beautifully together in true 'Varsity style, Hall gradually *wore* the Yankees *down*. The latter's form gradually deteriorated as they got more and more *backed*, and when the Hall boat began to lead them, they caved in altogether, though they did not actually stop.

WORSEMENT. In the United States "special assessments" are levied on real estate which is raised in value by the opening of new

streets, the laying out of squares, etc. In Great Britain the ground landlords have bitterly resented any attempt to make them bear a share of the cost of the municipal improvements which benefitted their property. One of their methods was to call these improvements *betterments*, and then to denounce this word as an Americanism. So far as I know the word is wholly unknown in the United States. In Great Britain its use has led logically to the invention of *worsement* to indicate the injury sometimes done to a special property by a scheme of general improvement. In the *Illustrated London News* of June 1st, 1895, in a report of the doings of Parliament was the following paragraph:—

The Finance Bill was read a third time without amendment, and a compromise on the *betterment* question removed at last the principal obstacle to the prosecution of improvements by the London County Council. This compromise admits the principle of compensation to owners of property for "*worsement*."

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ARE THE HACKMAN-REAY LOVE-LETTERS GENUINE?

IN the spring of 1779 all London was shocked at the murder of Miss Reay, by Mr. Hackman. The former was the extremely beautiful and accomplished mistress of the dissolute Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty; to him, in the course of seventeen years, she bore nine children, among them Basil Montagu,—the Montagu who tried to make the world believe that Lord Bacon was not the scoundrel he had sometimes been painted. James Hackman, when he met Martha Reay at the Admiralty (1775) and straightway fell in love with her, was a recruiting officer in the army; three years later he sold his commission, in order to return from his post in Ireland, and be near Miss Reay. In 1879 he took orders. Meantime, the hope he had long cherished of marrying (for the affection was reciprocal) was crushed by learning, through a third person, that he was no longer loved. Al-

1 The Love-Letters of Mr. H. and Miss R. 1775-1779. Edited by Gilbert Burgess. Chicago: Stone & Kimball 1895.

ways an over-ardent wooer, with a touch of melancholy in his blood, he was now driven to despair. Seeking out his mistress at the theatre with the determination to destroy himself in her presence, he yielded to a sudden frenzy of jealousy and shot first the object of his love, then himself. Miss Reay died instantly; Hackman sustained a mere scalp-wound. The unhappy prisoner was tried for murder, and executed; in his trial he behaved like a man, and in his death like a gentleman.

London was touched to the heart by the piteous fate of the lady, and the sadder end of the lover. Pamphlets told the story; and one, published the next year by Sir Herbert Croft, and called *Love and Madness*, gave what purported to be the correspondence of the unhappy pair. Among the letters was a long one telling for the first time the whole truth about Thomas Chatterton; the documents for this letter were obtained by Croft from the dead poet's mother and sister—the fact that he kept them against agreement and never properly paid for them, calling down upon him in later years the wrath of Robert Southey. *Love and Madness* ran through edition after edition; in the ninth, Croft confessed that the Chatterton letter was his own, and that of the whole correspondence only “the outline” was true. But before this claim there was some talk about the matter, as on the part of Walpole, who, taking a lesson from experience, at once doubted the authenticity of the letters, though acknowledging that the Hackman part was quite in the character of that person; and on the part of Johnson, who blamed Croft for mixing fact and fancy. The whole matter has lain almost out of sight this hundred years, till now Mr. Gilbert Burgess gives us a new redaction of the letters, and assures us of his conviction, formed after “exhaustive investigation,” that, excepting the Chatterton matter, the letters are genuine.

Mr. Burgess says:

“No record of Croft's own work tallies at all with the idea that he created such a romance. But, apart from the controversy, the story and the letters seem to me to be a veritable human document of strong interest. And, after exhaustive investigation, I am convinced that such a document is only explainable on the grounds of a real living correspon-

dence and that these letters are, without doubt, those that passed between Hackman and Miss Reay” (p. xvi).

It would seem that the value of the letters as “human documents” can hardly be considered “apart from the controversy.” The letters undoubtedly make a very pretty book to read, for they are quite as strange as any ordinary fiction, and they have literary quality; so Mr. Burgess is not to be blamed for wishing to make a readable and salable volume, rather than a dissertation. But if the book is offered as a “human document,” the editor ought to give us some show of proof that they were actually written a century ago by two people who were lovers. Mr. Burgess tenders very few reasons for his belief. He says that the style of the Chatterton letter is unlike that of the others; accordingly he relegates this epistle to an appendix, and calmly dissects away from the other letters that appeared in *Love and Madness* all references, save one or two, to Chatterton. He advances, apparently as a forcible argument for the genuineness of the series, the facts that Booth, Hackman's brother-in-law, gave Kearsley, the publisher, the papers of the dead man; that Croft published with Kearsley, and that his work was approved by the silence of Booth (who had denounced as inaccurate an earlier, anonymous pamphlet, *The Case and Memoirs of Hackman*). The argument is not weighty. If Booth was alive in April, 1780—Mr. Burgess doubtless knows whether or not he was—and approved the first edition of *Love and Madness*, he must have seen and permitted the Chatterton letter; and a relative who, to lend false credit to Hackman as a *littérateur*, would connive at the Chatterton letter, would connive at more tampering with the dead man's *billets-doux*.

The fact is, as every student knows, that to determine the authenticity of a short piece of prose written soon after Johnson's death, is a most difficult thing. The pseudo-Johnsonian style affected almost every writer; the peculiar regularity and uniformity of Addison's day, which still make it a most delicate task to sort out Bludgell's papers from his master's, had been succeeded by a new but equally baffling common style. Hackman's authen-

tic speech at the trial is pseudo-Johnsonian; and so is Croft's Chatterton letter. No ordinary test of style alone could assure a sound criticism that the author of the letter could not have written the speech. The difficulty of correct judgment in such a matter was recognized at the time by Nichols, who reviewed the first edition of *Love and Madness* in the *Monthly Magazine*, vol. lxii, p. 326, art. 40. The second sentence in this review is quite the best thing ever said regarding the authorship. It's a pity Mr. Burgess did not quote this review, instead of the later, beheaded version which, after appearing in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1816, was reprinted in the *Illustrations*, whence it is transferred to Mr. Burgess's pages. Nichols first said:

"The letters are given as the correspondence of the late unfortunate Mr. Hackman with Miss Reay. Of their authenticity we can say but little; for though we profess ourselves critics, we pretend not to be conjurors."

A quarter of a century later, after a long and intimate friendship with Croft, he had practically nothing new to say; he dropped, however, his remark about not being "conjurors."

But Mr. Burgess is not afraid of attempting a little conjuring. It remains, therefore, to see how he gets on at it. He is certainly right in finding a difference between the style of the Chatterton letter and that of the other letters, or at least of the earlier ones. The former is comparatively stiff and bookish. It has a long sentence and in parts a slightly stilted diction. The early letters are written in staccato sentences, are highly exclamatory, and at times come to abrupt stops—dashes, the writer becoming inarticulate with emotion. Moreover, these early letters are full of repetitions and roving talk quite unintelligible and tedious to the public, and so characteristic of actual epistolary style that they seem to me to pass the ingenuity of the most skilful forger. In brief, the editor seems right in believing that Croft worked with an actual correspondence before him. It seems doubtful, however, whether the printed letters are without admixture from the hand of Croft; I shall try to give the reasons.

Croft was an exceedingly versatile man. He

tried his hand at dictionary making, at biography, at verse, at sermons (which Johnson found flippant). He wrote such things as these:

"A Brother's Advice to his Sisters," 1775. "Fanaticism and Treason," "The Literary Fly," 1780. "The Abbey of Kilhampton," 1780—"a series of anticipatory epitaphs upon prominent living personages," and a curious French work, "Horace éclairci par la ponctuation," Paris, 1810.

His biography of Young which he contributed to Johnson's *Lives*, impressed Boswell as a good imitation of Johnson's style; and even Burke (according to Malone) admitted that it had the "nodosities" of that style, though lacking its strength. But Croft's style in his letters² reveals curious vacillations from this heavier manner to a terse colloquial diction and structure. There is sometimes a dexterity and lightness of touch which is far from the clumsiness that Mr. Burgess finds in the Chatterton letter. I believe Croft to have been capable of introducing many paragraphs in the later letters so deftly as almost to defy detection; he had style enough, he had enough sympathy with the *ethos* of the rôle played by Hackman in this drama of life.

Mr. Burgess speaks of the introduction to the Chatterton letter as a clumsy imitation of Hackman's style. Here it is—or the first paragraph of it—and a sentence or two of the second.

"The task you have set me about Chatterton is only a further proof of your regard for me. You know the warmth of my passions, and you think that if I do not employ myself they may flame out and consume me. Well, then, I will spend a morning or two in arranging what I have collected respecting the author of Rowley's poems. Every syllable you will read I assure you shall be *authentic*.

Did you start at "The author of Rowley's poems?" My mind does not now harbour a doubt that Chatterton wrote the whole, whatever I thought when we read them together at H." (pp. 183-184).

Is this more awkward than the following, which is made to introduce one of Hackman's (?) long, gratuitously gruesome stories of murder?

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, March, and April, 1800; Nichols's *Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1828, pp. 208-218.

"Did I not tell you on Saturday the particulars of the poor fellow who suffered this day se'nnight for murdering Mrs. Knightly? They are singlar. He was an Italian, I understand. Such a thing is not credible but of an Italian" (p. 135).

Or this, which introduces three pages of themes for historical paintings?

"My opinion of the great man's style of painting who condescends to improve you in drawing is exactly yours. Posterity will agree with us. The subjects you recommended to his pencil are such as I should have expected from my M.'s fancy. While I walked my horse hither this morning two or three subjects of different sorts occurred to me. All of them would not suit his style. But I know one or two of them would not displease you if well executed. Some of them I will send you" (p. 128).

[Then follow four pages of "subjects." It might be noted here that in the forged Chatterton letter there is given just such another subject for historical painting.]

Surely the artificiality is common to all three introductions. But this fashion of dragging in "anecdotes" (as Nichols called them) by the heels, is not more clumsy than many of the literary allusions are superfluous. The long list of historical "subjects" (ending with the grisly scene of Monmouth's bungled execution), and most of the literary quotations, seem alike to spring from Croft's notoriously good memory for miscellany. The letters that contain this leisurely erudition contrast strongly with the passionate single-heartedness of the true Hackman style. Compare, for example, the letter last quoted (Sept. 20, 1777) with the note which precedes it by two months. It may be argued that the styles differ with the subjects; but one subject is natural to Hackman, the other is not.

"Since last night I have changed my mind, totally changed it. I charge you not to see Mrs. Yates this morning. Write her word that your mind is changed. Never will I consent to be supported by your labours. Never, never shall your face, your person, your accomplishments be exposed for so much an hour. By heaven! I will not forgive you if you do not give up all thought of such a thing" (p. 127).

This is characteristic of Hackman. From first to last he was swept on by a tide of love

as unusual in our modern days as it was destructive to him in those. Except a few passing literary references, anything but recondite, he apparently put into his letters little but protestations of love and eager hopes of speedy marriage. It seems inevitable that suspicion must fall upon much of the literary matter and upon the narrative of those ominously modern instances of love-madness with which the letters are "enlivened."

I referred to Croft's fertility of literary allusion and quotation. In some of his work it is obtrusive. Contrast the style of his letters answering Southey, where he is a veritable Dr. Pangloss, with the smooth original web of Southey's letters. In his life of Young he quotes incessantly, even though he knew how sparingly Johnson cited. Some of the *Lives* are utterly without quotation; others introduce whole paragraphs or stanzas, with deliberate preface. But Croft in the *Young* freely sprinkles couplets and quatrains, introducing them with variety and grace of phrase. Now *Love and Madness* has plenty of bits of poetry so slipped in, many of them purely ornamental. The *Auld Robin Gray* is probably quoted by the lovers, except the couplet in the letter of Sept. 20, 1777, where it seems to be foisted in imitation of its earlier use.

Mr. Burgess remarks that from Jan. 26, 1777 on, "Hackman's letters have a morbid vein running through them." And so they have, dwelling as they do on stories of lover's murders, on suicides, on executions. But the case in favor of Hackman's putting such things into his letter is not so good as the case in favor of Croft's seizing the opportunity to work up a fine situation of dramatic *nemesis*. The stories are told with accuracy and minuteness, some being rehearsed from the newspapers, others from literature. Without exception there is in each some analogy to the final horrors of the Hackman case. The following passage, March 2, 1778, a year before the tragedy, must have come either from a soul more prophetic than Hamlet's, or else from an unscrupulous *littérateur* who knew all the facts of the later tragedy.

"Yet, could I believe (which I own I cannot, from the evidence in this case) that the idea of

destroying her never struck him till his finger was at the trigger; that his only intention was to lay the breathless body of an injured lover at her feet—had this been the fact, however I might have condemned the deed, I certainly should have wept over the momentary phrenzy which committed it. But as nothing appears to have past which could at all make him change his plan, I must (impossible as it seems) suppose him to have deliberately formed so diabolical a plan; and must rejoice that he was not of the same country, while I lament that he was of the same order of beings with myself" (pp. 137, 138).

Mr. Burgess says, without giving his authority, that Hackman "was sufficiently romantic to have kept copies of his letters" (p. v). Nothing strange in an eighteenth century beau, but passing strange in Hackman! One wishes that the cruel Galli, Miss Reay's companion and Hackman's enemy in disguise, had furnished Croft by stealth with the originals of Hackman's letters. For the published letters have many a choked exclamation that ill comports with the notion of a copy; worse yet, there are expressions that, if from copies made by the author of the note, sound disingenuous. Thus, Feb. 16, 1776:

"Observe, when I write to you I never pretend to write sense. I have no head; you have made me all heart from top to bottom. Sense—why, I am out of my senses, and have been these six weeks. Were it possible my scrawls to you could ever be read by any one but you I should be called a madman" (p. 47).

And again, in a letter (from Newgate), which, if any, might have been spared the cheap additions of Croft:—

("Should the pen of fancy ever take the trouble to invent letters for me, I should not be suffered to write to you thus, because it would seem *unnatural*. Alas! they know not how gladly a wretch like me forgets himself.") (P. 172.)

One regrets, also, that Hackman should see fit to hand over only a few of Miss Reay's letters (one or two being moreover of unpleasant license), and not the great body of her correspondence. The absence of Miss Reay's letters does not help the look of Croft's case, who, we may be sure, would have withheld none of those then in his possession, but who might well hesitate to forge new ones.

Croft's thoughts ran upon literary forgeries.

In *Love and Madness* there are, besides the Chatterton story, many allusions to other similar deceits. In the Chatterton letter itself he devotes several pages to such cases. He waxes eloquent in Chatterton's behalf, and thinks forgery much too severe a name for the Rowley poems. Of De Foe he speaks as follows, at once attacking him for an act no worse than the theft of the Chatterton material, and leaving, he doubtless thought, some sort of loophole for himself:

"Had Selkirk given him his papers, there could have been no harm in working them up his own way. I can easily conceive a writer making his own use of a known fact, and filling up the outlines which have been sketched by the bold and hasty hand of fate. A moral may be added, by such means, to a particular incident; characters may be placed in their just and proper lights; mankind may be amused (and amusements, sometimes, prevent crimes), or, if the story be criminal, mankind may be bettered, through the channel of their curiosity" (p. xiii).

Distrust is inevitably invited in the case of the letter of Jan. 28, 1779, where there is a trouble with dates. Hackman writes,

"How glad am I that I have taken orders, and what obligations have I to my dear B. to Mr. H. and Dr. V.! Now, my happiness can be deferred no longer" (p. 142).

But Hackman was not ordained deacon till February 24. Mr. Burgess airily says that there must be a mistake in the date. Natural enough! but the closing paragraph of the letter warns: "Do not forget the 5th of next month. We *must* keep that day sacred together." He means Feb. 5, the anniversary of his duel. He writes, Feb. 5, 1778, "Only remember, in all our future life, each fifth of February be ever sacred." The dilemma is clear: either Hackman prevaricated—a man who later refused to prevaricate to save his life—or else a good part of the letter is not genuine.

I have not thought it worth while to go more minutely into the general question, considering technical points of sentence length, range of figures, connectives, ratios of predication, etc. Two or three surface matters of style caught my eye, but they can have no weight in the discussion: the misuse of *would* is a

fault common to the pseudo-Hackman style and that of Croft; so is the rhetorical question, which though distinctly a mark of Croft, everywhere and always, occurs infrequently in Hackman—who had real questions to ask his love.

What, at length, shall be said of the literary interest of the letters? Apart from the Chatterton story, that of James Hackman and Martha Reay is quite worth reprinting and reading. Mr. Burgess deserves our thanks for it; for nobody ever gave the world the story of a more genuine, a more passionately sustained devotion than that of Hackman. It may be called unwise, it certainly was not without fault; but it was ethically worth a world of such long-lived liaisons as that of Lord Sandwich. Literature has hardly a more pathetic figure to show than poor Hackman at Newgate. The letters, ostensibly written from the condemned cell, bear many marks of being, at least in their main content, genuine. These moreover when published had presumably to pass the scrutiny of the Rev. Charles Parker, in whose custody they were left by Hackman. The remorse of the condemned man, the awful dream that beset him, the relief from himself that he sought in writing to Parker, are things natural and credible. Compare the following passage, which has the true, sad ring, with the similar but strained interpolation (if such it be) which is quoted above ("Should the pen of fancy, etc.")—

"Were these scraps of paper to be seen by any other eye than yours, common people would wonder that, in proportion as the moment drew nearer, I got further and further from myself. It may be contrary to the rules of critics, but so it is. To think, or to write about myself, is death, is hell. My feelings will not suffer me to date these different papers any more" (p. 176).

The recital of the dream, made in Hackman's short, half-stifled sentences, has the poetry that is wrung out of human life with the bloody sweat of despair. A soul has reached the place (where many a soul has all too suddenly found itself), in which the obtrusive realities of the concrete world seem but shadows as compared with the dread facts of the spiritual world. And the letter has the awful eloquence which bursts out of supreme

human anguish when the victim tries to temper his pain by expressing it. He sees his Beloved—her face, her person cast anew in angel moulds; her mind he sees as plainly as her face, but it is not capable of alteration for the better; her whom he has sent to her account with all her foibles on her head, and these she must expiate. Over the fixt gulf between them he sees her smile at his sufferings, and bid her companion angel, too, enjoy them.

"Oh! how I rejoiced, how I wept, sobbed with joy, when I awoke, and discovered it was only a dream, and found myself in the condemned cell of Newgate."

E. H. LEWIS.

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FAUST'S FIRST MONOLOGUE AND THE EARTH-SPIRIT-SCENE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT CRITICISM.

THE unity of thought and composition of this part of Goethe's poem has become an especial subject of discussion since the appearance in 1885 of an essay by the late Wilhelm Scherer (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vi, 231), in which he claimed to have discovered at this point unmistakable evidence of interruptions, omissions, and ill-concealed changes of plan on the part of the poet. Criticisms of these views of Scherer by Professor Calvin Thomas (*Goethe's Faust*, First Part, Boston: 1892) and by J. Collin (*Untersuchungen über Goethe's Faust in seiner ältesten Gestalt. I. Der erste Monolog und die Erdgeistszene*. Inaugural-Dissertation, Giessen: 1892) have suggested the following résumé and estimate of the arguments pro and con. Here, however, we do not forget that Scherer never saw Fräulein Göchhausen's copy of Goethe's early work, commonly called the *Urfaust*, discovered and published by Erich Schmidt in 1887 and again in 1888. Nor do we lose sight of the great advantage afforded the later critics, in their strictures upon Scherer's conclusions, by the absence in this earlier version of the cracks and seams suspected by their predecessor. But in absence of positive knowledge as to the time when the Göchhausen version was written, and as to how closely or loosely this may tally with the

real as yet undiscovered *Urfaust*, it by no means follows that Scherer's hypotheses need no refutation.

The following parallel arrangement of the

SCHERER.

1. ll. 1-32.

A sort of prologue, rehearsing Faust's unsatisfactory past and thus prefacing the statement of his devotion to magic. At the end of it Scherer expects the hero to proceed straightway with his conjuring (cf. *Aufsätze über Goethe*, Berlin: 1886, pp. 310 f.).

2. ll. 33-74.

A lyric passage filled with repining at the ugly contrast between the beauty and health of Nature and the cramped and musty wretchedness of this lumber-room of a study, written according to Scherer considerably later than 1 and intended originally by the poet, not as a complement of, but as a substitute for, the first passage (p. 315).

3. ll. 75-114.

Contemplation of the magic symbols, prefaced by what Scherer regards as the inapposite exclamation "*Ihr schwebt, ihr Geister, neben mir*," etc., and accompanied by Faust's description of their effect upon his mind (pp. 310-311).

4. ll. 115-164.

The evoking of the Earth-Spirit, a passage whose only "Unebenheit" rests according to Scherer upon the mixture of prose and verse it presents (p. 322).

First, we note a discrepancy between the subdivisions of the whole passage, indicated by Scherer and tacitly accepted by Thomas (pp. 251 f.), and those maintained by Collin. All three critics are agreed in regarding the first thirty-two lines of the monologue as a well-defined group, 1. Scherer extends the second sub-division, 2, to line 75, since he refers lines 65-74 to Faust's resolve to flee from the study into the night. Collin's radically different conception of the situation expressed in these lines and the fact that for him the exclamation: "*Flieh! Auf! hinaus ins weite Land!*" is the passionate culmination of the previous reflections, lead him to regard line 66 as the beginning of the third sub-division, 3, (cf. Scherer, p. 315; and Collin, p. 18). Promising shortly to return to these points, we recall further that Scherer, though not over-confident

subdivisions of the First Monologue and the Earth-Spirit-Scene, as proposed by Scherer and by Collin, will render clearer the subsequent discussion:

COLLIN.

ll. 1-32.

A sort of prologue, rehearsing Faust's unsatisfactory past and thus prefacing the statement of his devotion to magic, interrupted by the following lyrical passage which is organically connected with the foregoing by the 'moonlight-motif' (p. 18).

2. ll. 33-65.

A lyric passage rising naturally in the mind of the disciple of Rousseau, as a kind of *sotto voce* protest against the use of magic prescribed by the legend he was bound to follow, instead of direct and loving communion with Nature, dictated by his own experience and preference. Not intended by the poet as a substitute for ll. 1-32 (cf. Scherer: *Aufsätze*, pp. 315 and 320), but as a supplementary commentary upon the character of Faust (pp. 19 f.).

3. ll. 66-106.

Faust's attitude toward the book of Nostradamus and resolve to turn directly from the symbols to their objects, all inspired by the young Goethe's pantheistic love of nature (pp. 22 and 25 f.). Contemplation of the sign of the Macrocosm and recital of its effect upon Faust's mind.

4. ll. 107-160.

The evoking of the Earth-Spirit in two-fold fashion (pp. 44 f.).

5. ll. 161-168.

Transition-monologue prefatory to the scene, *Faust and Wagner* (p. 8).

of the accuracy of this second sub-division, suspects lines 75 and 76 to be substitutes for other original lines, subsequently suppressed (p. 315 and Note), and that he extends the third portion of text to line 114, thus including eight lines assigned by Collin to the first of Faust's two attempts to evoke the Earth-Spirit (pp. 43 f.). Scherer extends the fourth division to line 164, thus overlapping part of the transition-monologue prefatory to the scene, *Faust and Wagner* (ll. 161-168), as proposed by Collin.

Scherer takes especial pains to prove two things concerning lines 1-32:

a. Their essential resemblance to the *Volksdrama* and *Puppenspiel*, and to a feature of Marlowe's *Faust*, absent from the extant versions of *Volksdrama* and *Puppenspiel*, namely, the four faculties,—a feature referable, there-

fore, according to Scherer, either to the poet's acquaintance with a version to us unknown, or to mere coincidence (p. 311).

b. Differences between 1 and 2 in content, meter, and style, so great as to warrant the assumption of the lapse of considerable time between the composition of the first and that of the second passage, and of a marked transformation in the artist, Goethe, effected in the interim (p. 320).

Scherer attributes the formal peculiarities of 1, irregular meter, familiar, archaic, or dialectic locutions, the argumentative *zwar, dafür, auch, drum, ob*, etc., to the young poet's interest in Hans-Sachs and to his translation into Hans-Sachs doggerel (*Knittelverse*) of an original prose draft of these lines (p. 321). Absence of these items in 2 is for him evidence of the intellectual and artistic progress of Goethe, who expressed his dissatisfaction with the old introduction by composing the second passage, as a substitute for 1 (p. 324). Confirmation of this view he finds in what he regards as the lack of organic connection between 2 and 3 (pp. 287 and 324). As we shall see presently, his discovery of this dissonance was materially assisted by his failure to notice the break in thought and tone, afforded by the exclamation: *Flieh! Auf! hinaus ins weite Land!* This led Scherer to extend 2 beyond l. 65 to l. 75, and to look for a bridge where no bridge was needed nor intended.

Everything in the opening lines of the passage, he argues, points to Faust's intention to make a practical application in the open air of his knowledge of magic. He purposes this, because experience has demonstrated the futility of such efforts within the four walls of the study. He has never succeeded in evoking any spirits; he is still expectant and hopeful, but also unhappy. Scherer is, therefore, surprised to hear him allude to a book, which he only needs to open to feel himself at once surrounded by spirits (pp. 310 f.). He therefore supposes that Goethe intended originally to proceed as did the *Volksdrama* and *Puppen-spiel*, assisting the hero, embarrassed for want of a suitable book, by a scene in which this should be brought him, and that he subsequently wrote 2 as a substitute for 1 plus this

missing scene (p. 324). Scherer furthermore finds need either of a missing scene or of missing words to introduce the evoking of the Earth-Spirit, l. 114 (or, l. 106). For, his argument runs (p. 322), the words:

*Ich fühl's, du schwebst um mich,
Erflehter Geist!*

are in their present context without obvious significance, since the Spirit has not yet been *erfleht* at all. He suggests the possibility that in the omitted scene Wagner interrupted Faust's attempt to evoke the Earth-Spirit, thus paving the way to a monologue in the next scene, explanatory of the hero's repeated attempts in this direction and adequately prefacing the words just quoted (p. 323).

Professor Calvin Thomas (*Goethe's Faust*, First Part, Boston: 1892, pp. 251 f.) acknowledges the ingenuity of these arguments of Scherer and feels that they prove, at least,

"that the four passages did not proceed from a continuous creative impulse, but correspond, in part at least, to different moods and to different phases of poetic feeling and of artistic power."

He supposes an interval, though not necessarily a long interval, to have elapsed between the composition of 1, and that of 2. In 2 he finds reflected not a radically different Goethe, but only a different mood from the one traceable in 1 (Cf. p. 253). The poet

"has in mind here a Faust who has spent long nights poring over magic books; who has learned to recognize and imitate their symbols, and to know what to expect from each; who has tried to evoke spirits, tried to evoke the Earth-Spirit, but in vain, the reason being, of course, that he has not had the right book. In his own mind, however, the magician has framed a different theory to account for his failure, viz., that the symbols will not do their proper work amid the 'dust and mold' of the study, but need to be taken out into the open air."

Therefore he determines to leave the house, according to Thomas, that the symbols of Nostradamus may not prove as inoperative as all the others. Still, by way of a final trial before rushing out into the night, he exclaims to the spirits whom he as magician feels to be hovering near him:

*Ihr schwebt, ihr Geister, neben mir
Antwortet mir, wenn ihr mich hört!*

We see, therefore, that Thomas finds, as did Scherer: (a), that the four passages did not proceed from a continuous creative impulse; and (b), that an interval must have elapsed between the composition of 1 and that of 2. That he does not regard 2 as originally intended as a substitute for 1, and does not insist upon a long interval between the genesis of 1 and that of 2, distinguishes his view in degree but not in kind from that of Scherer. Their point of essential agreement is the *interruption* and *modification* of the original poetic intention, felt by both at the end of line 32. Scherer's view that the provenience of the Book of Magic originally found explanation in a scene intended to follow 1, as dramatic introduction to the conjuring scene, Thomas rejects (p. 253) as a clumsy device of the puppet-plays, no less mysterious than the book itself. "It was just as well, therefore, simply to assume that Faust has the book from the outset." (*Ibid.*) This seems to me a judicious observation, stating pithily the adequate objection to this part of Scherer's argument. But Thomas proceeds straightway to the assumption of a decided change of plan in 2, substituting for the Faust of 1, inexperienced in conjuring, a man whose initial experiment in this line is long since a matter of the past. Now, in all the mention of apparatus and books, contained in 2, there is not a syllable of evidence that Faust has hitherto used them for the purposes of Magic. His study may for years have abounded in books of magic; but his investigations have apparently hitherto all been along natural and not supernatural lines. I can find not the slightest textual warrant for Thomas' inference that the Faust of 2 is already experienced as conjuror. On the contrary, everything in the text itself seems to me to point to Faust's inexperience in the use of magic, not only in 1 but also in 2. This view is further strengthened by the form *werde* (*Urfaust*, l. 26), quoted by Thomas in connection with 1 (p. 253), in place of *würde* in the Fragment of 1790. This *werde* points vividly to something expected from a new, as yet untried, experience. And the use of *würde* in the Fragment and in the edition of 1808 by no means implies necessarily: "I have been devoting myself to magic (for some time) to see

whether many a secret *would* not be revealed to me" (cf. Thomas, p. 254). It may at least with equal propriety be translated: "Therefore I have devoted myself to magic (=have now resolved to try magic) to see whether many a secret *may* not be revealed to me." *Würde* in place of *werde* simply renders less confident the expectation of Faust and emphasizes the groping uncertainty of the situation. This last is the interpretation of Scherer, who finds confirmatory evidence of its correctness in the *nun* of the first and the fifth lines:

*Habe nun, ach! Philosophie . . .
Da steh ich nun, ich armer Thor!* (p. 312).

There is certainly nothing in the syntax of the passage that transforms the novice into the adept in matters of magic.

Now, the assumption of Thomas that Faust, after convincing himself of the inefficacy of the symbols, when employed within doors, and after resolving to try them in the open air, is sufficiently influenced by his conviction of the immediate presence of Spirits to make him remain where he is for another experiment, involves a psychological improbability that is a serious objection to this interpretation. For what is there in a long series of fruitless attempts at evoking spirits to produce such a conviction of their accessibility as to make a man, bent upon avoiding a repetition of past failure by rushing out into the night, pause in mid-career and accept again the old conditions? Another point deserving passing mention is Thomas' own theory as to the failure of the symbols in Faust's previous efforts at conjuring. He writes: ". . . the reason being, of course, that he has not had the right book" (p. 253). But there is no mention of any other Book of Magic in the whole Monologue and Earth-Spirit Scene than that of Nostradamus. This consideration and the absence of satisfactory evidence in passage 2 of even a single past attempt on the part of Faust at evoking spirits, emphasized in the foregoing considerations, render unsatisfactory this explanation of the situation. Thus Thomas seems to remove several of the difficulties felt by Scherer, by the introduction of others nearly as grave, and he accepts as real the hiatus felt by Scherer before the words:

*Ich fühl's, du schwebst um mich,
Erflehter Geist.*

This latter point is included in the following discussion.

We turn now to the argument of Collin in its application to the views under discussion. Recalling his restriction of passage 2 to lines 33-65 (cf. parallel columns) because of the change of tone, noticeable directly after the exclamation: *Flich! Auf! hinaus ins weite Land!*, we are interested in his reply to Scherer's question why Faust does not leave the study and seek the open air. This would have been entirely consistent, he says, with the mood of the nature-loving poet, but equally inconsistent with the Faust-legend, that prescribed belief in the use of Magic (p. 20). Faust as yet only partially understands the previous silent invitation of the moonlight to eschew Magic and to turn directly to Nature herself for inspiration and for guidance. His blindness to the better way, the direct approach to nature, removed for an instant while he speaks these words, is a tragic element of the traditional frame-work, to whose poetic treatment Goethe was committed (p. 22). The desirability of intimate knowledge of the secret workings of Nature Faust feels keenly, but he still believes that the highroad to this insight lies in Magic. The disciple of Rousseau had the difficult task of leading the hero of the action gradually through the long apprenticeship of Magic, prescribed by the mediæval legend, to face-to-face vision, that motives the words:

*Könnst' ich Magie von meinem Pfad entfernen
Die Zaubersprüche ganz und gar verlernen,
Stünd ich, Natur, vor dir ein Mann allein,
Da wär's der Mühe wert, ein Mensch zu sein.*

(Weim. Ed. II. 11404 ff.).

The antipodal character of Nature and Learning Faust already feels at the opening of the drama, after years of struggle; not until disappointment, and distress, and sin, and crime have entered his life will he recognize the same relationship between Nature and Magic. (Collin, pp. 19-22.) We know that Goethe's early writings abound in glimpses of his own enthusiastic devotion to nature, as revealed in the outer world, and in proofs of his discriminating study of her varying phases. Numerous fragmentary expressions of this in letters

and sundry essays, written in the early seventies and the whole background of the Werther romance, are abundant evidence that the mood expressed in lines 33-65 was part of the young poet's habitual thought. What more natural than the change of tone after line 32, as protest of the young Nature-poet against the futility of that method of approaching Nature imposed, for the time being, by his choice of subject? A further consideration, not mentioned by Collin, that renders still more probable the main contention, is that this second passage throws such a side light upon Faust's desire to understand, and himself to employ in turn the creative method of Nature, as to lend additional significance and interest to all his subsequent dealings with magic. The lyrical tone and modified content of 2, noticed by Scherer, are what we should expect, if Collin's interpretation be correct. Besides, nothing deduced by the older critic from metrical and stylistic differences between 1 and 2 remains without adequate explanation in the light of this interpretation.

Faust's impulse to turn from books and apparatus to Nature, expressed in the words: *Flich! Auf! hinaus ins weite Land!* is, accordingly, at once modified by the recollection of his resolve (*Urfaust*, I. 24) to try Magic, lost sight of during the musings suggested by the light of the full moon (*Urfaust*, II. 33 f.). Intimate knowledge of Nature! To be sure! But what better way to this than through Magic? And what better guide in the use of Magic than Nostradamus? By means of it Nature became to him an open book. Why not to Faust as well? Thus the words,

Und dies geheimnisvolle Buch

Ist dir es nicht Geleit genug?

refer not to the momentary impulse to leave the study and rush forth into the night, but to Faust's serious purpose to seek Nature through Magic under the direction of the veteran magician, Nostradamus (Collin, pp. 22 f.). They constitute the transition overlooked by Scherer and also by Thomas from 2 to 3. Nature in the line,

Wenn Natur dich unterweist,

is Nature seen through the *Zauberbuch*, not identical with that Nature to whom Faust,

blessed for an instant with the unclouded vision of his author, would flee (*Urfaust*, l. 65). With Thomas, Collin regards as trivial the question of the provenience of the book. The whole Monologue seems to him designed to present to us Faust the scholar, tired of and disgusted with fruitless, dry-as-dust learning, determined to test magic as a means for effecting what study fails to give, and to make us witnesses of his *first* experiment in evoking spirits (p. 24). Not the presence of the volume in his library but his determination to reach Nature through Magic is significant. In view of this, how impertinent the question raised by Scherer as to where he got the book and why he had not used it before, if already in his possession!

Before opening the book, Faust reflects upon the uselessness of dry meditation upon form and meaning of the symbols in this attempt to use Magic as a road to Nature (Collin, p. 25):

*Umsonst dass trocknes Sinnen hier
Die heil'gen Zeichen dir erklärt.*

Scherer and Thomas refer the word *hier* to the Study instead of to the Experiment, and still expect, therefore, to see Faust leave the room. Hence the former's conjecture as to suppressed originals of lines 75 and 76 (*Aufsätze*, p. 315 and Note), and the latter's unsatisfactory explanation of Faust's final decision to remain indoors. Faust determines to turn directly to the Spirits, whose symbols he shall find in the book. Collin traces this resolve directly to the young poet's conviction of the omnipresence of the spirit-world, as shown in *Mahomet*, *Clavigo*, *Werther*, *Faust*, and elsewhere (p. 26). Here the traditional conception of the spirit-world blends with the view of Goethe, so that he makes Faust allege the omnipresence of spirits as a reason for disregarding speculation and for addressing at once the substance indicated by the signs. Collin points out (p. 27) Scherer's double mistake (1), in overlooking this blending of modern conviction with ancient tradition and (2), in finding puzzling that the opening of a mere book should suddenly convince Faust of the close proximity of hovering Spirits (*Aufsätze*, pp. 310-311). The words,

*Ihr schwebt, ihr Geister, neben mir;
Antwortet mir, wenn ihr mich hört!*

precede the opening of the book.

Scherer finds no explanation of the word *erfleht* (*Urfaust*, l. 123) in its present context, and suspects that scenes or a scene and words, explanatory of Faust's previous vain attempts to evoke the Earth-Spirit, are for some reason missing. Thomas calls attention to this view of Scherer in a note (pp. 260-261), tacitly accepting the view of the latter. In the following we note Collin's view of the matter.

Disappointed and chagrined at his own inability to realize in actual experience the beatific vision of the creative activity of the Universe, suggested by the sign of the Macrocosm, Faust turns the leaves of the book, notes the sign of the Earth-Spirit, and feels at once his strong affinity for this Master of Earth-Life. The mistake just committed in expecting from the more remotely related Spirit-of-the-Universe what could be the result only of intimate communion with the controlling Essence of Earth-Existence, he now comprehends. He feels with a thrill of delight and accepts the challenge to enter actively into all the weal and woe of earthly experience and to contend with all the storms of life that blow, with a courage that never quails even in the face of shipwreck. In these expressions and in the words that follow them (*Urfaust*, ll. 115-121), Collin finds what he calls a preliminary conjuring of the Earth-Spirit, followed according to the stage-direction by a second attempt, with an accompaniment of the traditional mummery (p. 44).¹ Here again Goethe's own youthful conviction of the commanding influence of spiritual affinity, subsequently reflected in *Wahlverwandtschaften*, for an instant breaks through the prescription of tradition. Gradually increasing spiritual affinity, culminating in attempted self-identification with one's recognized counterpart, is the natural magic of the situation. But after this concession to his own feeling, the poet makes Faust pronounce the mystic formula, whose use preserves the framework of the legend. This explains, according to Collin, the meaning of the word

¹ Kuno Fisher recognizes the first, but overlooks the second of these conjurings. Cf. *Goethe's Faust nach seiner Entstehung, Idee und Composition*. Zweiter Band, pp. 219 f. Stuttgart: 1893.

erflehter in line 123, and also the expression of the Earth-Spirit in line 131 f.:

*Du hast mich mächtig angezogen,
An meiner Sphäre lang gezogen.*

Another consideration that seems to me additional proof of the correctness of this interpretation is that Faust's life has for years shown this increasing affinity for the Earth-Spirit, with no more than a dim recognition of the fact on his part. What else than this has inspired his past devotion to ascertaining the secrets of Nature? What else than this has quickened his impatience with the futility of book-knowledge as a means, and has led him to adopt what seems by contrast the direct method of Magic? This summoning of the Earth-Spirit in our presence is, therefore, merely the climax of a long continued soul-experience inferable from the words of the Monologue.

These considerations seem to meet squarely the difficulties thus far pointed out by those who find in this part of the poem traces of changed plan, interrupted composition, and missing passages or scenes. Without forgetting the possibility of new positive evidence, afforded by the future discovery of the real *Urfaust*, it is not too much to say, meanwhile, that Collin presents in his valuable dissertation a convincing array of presumptive evidence for the unity of plan and composition of this part of Goethe's Faust.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF *Yeoman*.

VARIOUS etymologies have been proposed for the word *yeoman*; the oldest, so far as I know, and certainly the most popular derivation, connects the first syllable with Frisian *gā*, 'a district,' and cognate equivalents, and has the weight of learning and authority in its favor. It was proposed by Spelman, and has since been adopted by Junius, Wedgwood, Skeat, and Mayhew, and *The Century*, *Webster's International*, *The Standard* and other dictionaries. Most of the other proposed etymologies may be disposed of as mere unscientific guesses; as, for instance, (a) <A.S. *guma*, 'a man'; (b) a contraction of a supposed M.E.

yeme-man, 'a person in charge,' <*yeme* 'care'+*man*; (c) <A.S. *gemāne*, common; (d) <A.S. *iung man*, *geong man*, 'young man,' 'vassal.'

But the accepted etymology seems to me to be open to several objections. It looks rather strange that we should be compelled to go to the continent for the original of a very common English word, with a very peculiar meaning, when the original itself is virtually never otherwise found in English, and the peculiar signification is undiscoverable on the continent. One example of an English cognate to Frisian *gā* has been found in the compound *æt-gē*, 'a province of eels,' it is true; but as Kluge has pointed out, this word, Frisian *gā*, Ger. *Gau*, except in a few compounds and in the oldest period, is foreign to the Old Norse, Saxon, and English. We may fairly say then that no English equivalent of Frisian *gā* has yet been discovered.

Again, as Mr. Mayhew has pointed out in *The Academy* (45, 498), no satisfactory explanation of the relation between the two words, Frisian *gā* and English *yeoman*, has even been successfully attempted. There are two forms in Middle English, *geman* and *zoman*, and to quote Mr. Mayhew:

"these forms point back to an Old English **geoman* of which the long diphthong after the palatal was pronounced *eo* (whence *gēman*) or *eō* (whence *zōman*, *yeoman*) compare O.E. *ēode* and M.E. *gēde*, *gōde*; O.E. *sēo* and M.E. *schē*, *schō*; O.E. *hēo* ('she') and M.E. *ghē*, *ghō* and (according to the *Oxford Dictionary*) *cēocan* and M.E. *chēken*, Mod.E. *choke*."

Mr. Mayhew then endeavors to establish the relation between this Old-English *gēo* (*geō*) and Frisian *gā* by means of a Germanic base *gawja*, but against this etymology I offer my first objection,—that no *gēo* (*geō*)=Fris. *gā* can be found in English, either in simple or in compound form.

If, however, we come to Stratmann's proposed etymology—that is, <A.S. *geoman*, *iuman*, all difficulties will, I think, disappear. The phonological difficulty vanishes at once. The only plausible argument against this derivation is that of Dr. Skeat; namely, that the sense is totally unsuitable.

The first thing in its favor is the habit in Old English of compounding words with *geo*, *gio*,

iu. Compare *iu-monna*, *Beow*, 3052; *io-meowlan*, *Beow*, 2931; *iu-wine*, *Seef*. 92; *iu-lean*, *Wald*, 2, 7; *giomonna*, *Met*. 1, 23, etc., etc. That the word compounded with *iu* (*io*-) may be used of the living, the example from *Beowulf* proves. Earle translates it "wife of one's youth;" Grein, "Greisinn." So *yeoman* need not necessarily signify 'a forefather, ancestor,' but it may also mean 'an old man, ancient,' and like the word "ancient" it took on the signification 'a very old man, an elder of the village.' A few facts from constitutional history will, I am inclined to think, establish this theory.

The *ceorl* of the Anglo-Saxon is the *yeoman* of the Middle-English period. (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i, 84.) Or, as Hallam has stated the case, *Middle Ages*, ii, 70,

"Nobody can doubt that the *villani* and *bordarii* of Domesday Book, who are always distinguished from the serfs of the demesne, were the *ceorls* of Anglo-Saxon law. And I presume that the *socmen*, who so frequently occur in that record, though far more in some counties than in others, were *ceorls* more fortunate than the rest, who by purchase had acquired freeholds, or by prescription and the indulgence of their lords, had obtained such a property in the outlands allotted to them that they could not be removed, and in many instances might dispose of them at pleasure. They are the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants or yeomanry whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our institutions and our national character."

Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, iii, 551), speaking of "the great body of freeholders, the yeomanry of the Middle Ages," characterizes it as "a body which, in antiquity of possession and purity of extraction, was probably superior to the classes that looked down upon it as ignoble."

But one of the changes brought about by the Norman Conquest was the reduction of the *ceorl* almost if not quite to a state of servitude. He became attached to the land, and he was finally left virtually without civil rights towards his lord. At the same time, the *theow* of Anglo-Saxon law, the serfs of the demesne were somewhat lifted in the social scale, and in process of time the *servus* or *theow* disappeared altogether. (Cf. Stubbs, i, 428 ff.) Both classes were designated villeins by the Norman lawyers. But though they

came so close to each other as to require the trained mind of the jurist, or the constitutional historian, to distinguish between them, yet among themselves the distinction was never lost sight of.

"Not but that, if it came to a question of law, the local witness might in each case draw a distinction as to the status of the villein concerned; the testimony of the township or the hundred might prove that this man was descended from a family which had never been free, this from a bought slave, this from a commended *ceorl*." Stubbs, i, 429.

In Old-English law the yeoman was *probus et legalis homo*, one having free land of forty shillings by the year (previously five nobles), who was thereby qualified to serve on juries, vote for knights of the shire, and do any other act for which the law required this status or position. It was from the younger brothers of the yeoman families that the households of the great lords were recruited: they furnished men at arms, archers and hobelers, to the royal force at home and abroad, and, settling down as tradesmen in the cities, formed one of the links that bound the urban to the rural population. (Stubbs, iii, 551.) Later the tenant farmers were added to the yeoman class,—all of which serves to explain the extension of the use of the word in its various meanings.

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GERINELDO II.

It was long or seven years had an end
 She longd fu sair her love to see

 'For I maun marry my first true love,
 That's done and suffered so much for me.'
 Ballada de Young Beichan.

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Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, vol. iii, 1861.
 Milá y Fontanals, D. Manuel, *Obras completas*, coleccionadas por el Dr. D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, t. i-v, Barcelona 1888-1893.

AHI vai a continuação d'um ensaio folklórico que eu publiquei na caderneta de Dezembro de 1892 d'esta mesma revista (vol. vii, cols. 449-485) com o titulo de "La tradition d'Eginhard et Emma dans la poésie romanesca de la péninsule Hispanique," do qual se fez tambem uma *separata* em numero limitado. Formáram então o objecto das minhas observações os romances de *Gerineldo*, tão populares nos paizes de lingua castelhana, catalã e portugueza. Estes romances, assentados elles proprios n'uma tradição do cyclo carolingeo, achão-se aparentados pelo fundo, ou connexos pelas suas ramificações, com outros varios grupos de romances, dos quaes mencionei alguns na conclusão d'aquelle artigo (vii, col. 483).

Se hoje imprehendo seguir na minha tarefa, passando revista dos romances dependentes dos de *Gerineldo*, é principalmente graças á particular acolhida que fizéram á minha primeira publicação o Snr. G. Paris no seu juizo critico na 'Romania,' vol. xxiii, p. 307, e o illustrado conservador da Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa, José Leite de Vasconcellos Pereira de Mello, na *Revista Lus.*, vol. iii, p. 375.

Antes de entrar no proprio assumpto do presente artigo, que versará sobre a segunda parte dos romances de *Gerineldo*, peço licença para completar nalguns pontos o meu trabalho anterior, pelos seguintes

ADDENDA.

Chapitre Ier.—O Snr. G. Paris chama a attenção para o facto de eu não ter conseguido descobrir a origem dos romances de *Gerineldo*, e continúa:

"Cette source est certainement une chroni-

Milá y Fontenals, *Romancillo Catalán*, Barcelona, 1882.

Munthe, Ake W: son, *Folkpoesi från Asturien*, i, Upsala, 1888.

Nigra, Costantino, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, Torino, 1888.

Paris, Gaston, *Les chants populaires du Piémont*, Paris, 1890.

Pidal, Juan Menendez, *Colección de . . . Romances . . . asturianos*, Madrid 1885.

Revista Lusitana, volumes ii e iii, Porto, 1890-1895.

Santa-Anna Nery, F.-J. de, *Folk-lore Brésilien*, Paris, 1889.

Wolf, Ferdinand, *Proben Portugiesischer und spanischer Volksromansen*, Vienna, 1856.

Wolf y Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, 2 tomos, Berlin, 1856.

que et non une tradition populaire; il doit y avoir moyen de savoir quelle chronique contenant l'histoire en question a pu être connue d'un poète espagnol du xvie siècle."

Segundo expuz no *chap. Premier*, não exta nos reinos de Hispanha versão prosaica do *Gerineldo* anterior ao seculo decimo oitavo (vii, col. 455), e o romance, muito mais velho, provirá d'algun conto das chronicas ou *livres savants* francezes, baseado principalmente no *Chronicon Laureshamense* (vii, cols. 452, 454), mas emprestando varios rasgos d'outras fontes da tradição (vii, cols. 477, 478, 481). Tocante pois ao problema de descobrir aquel conto posterior á chronica de Lorsch que subministrou o prototypo dos romances de *Gerineldo*, força me é declarar que não disponho presentemente dos materiaes indispensaveis para tal investigação.

Emquanto á variante mais antiga dos romances de *Gerineldo*, vêja-se a minha tentativa de classificação, vol. vii, col. 475. Para podermos determinar com maior certeza a lição primordial, primeiro sim que precisaríamos conhecer exactamente a redacção adoptada pela nossa lénda na chronica na qual o romance foi haurido directamente.

Chapitre ii.—Para a classificação geral dos romances de *Gerineldo*, comparem-se as observações de C. M. de Vasconcellos, na sua *Historia da Litteratura Portuguesa*.³ Nos seus *Estudos sobre o Romancerio Peninsular*,⁴ a mesma sabia da, á occasião d'uma analyse critica da *Folkpoesi* de Munthe, uma enumeração das lições do *Gerineldo*, acompanhada d'uma valiosa bibliographia romanesca de vinte e sete numeros.

O Snr. J. Leite escreve (*Rev. Lusit.* iii, p.

² A theoria das chronicas como fonte de romances encontra-se ventilada tambem nos *Chants pop. du Piémont*, pp. 28, 29: "Les... romances... d'Eginardo... dérivent sans doute du *Chronicon Laureshamense*, et n'ont pu se former qu'à la suite de la lecture de livres savants,"—e, mais arriba, na pag. 28, onde o Snr. Paris formula o seu conceito com relação ao *Canto di Donna Lombarda*, para refutar certa theoria do Snr. Cos. Nigra: "Il suffit qu'un poète populaire ait entendu raconter, au xvie ou au xviii siècle, la tragique aventure de Ravenne, puisée dans le récit de Paul Diacre et les nombreuses histoires qui s'en sont inspirées pour qu'il ait pu composer la belle chanson qu'on connaît."

³ No *Grundriss* vol. ii, 2da secção, p. 155.

⁴ *Rev. Lusit.* ii, pp. 192 sq.—Esse artigo não me era conhecido no tempo que publiquei o meu; cf. a minha 'note 41,' *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, vii, p. 232.

375): "A's versões portuguesas indicadas pelo Sr. Otto, posso addicionar mais duas publicadas nos meus *Romances populares portugueses*, Barcellos 1881, nos xxiii e xxiv. Também ouvi em Tras-os-Montes uma versão em hespanhol."—

Nas seguintes paginas, as designações taes como A1, C5, remetem o leitor ás correspondentes versões do *Gerineldo* no meu artigo "La tradition d'Eginhard."

A4.—Note-se o juizo de Wolf,⁵ quem falla da 'abenteuerlich verballhornte (Katastrophe) der jüngerer castilischen Romanze [=A4], in der der Einfluss der italienischen Rittergedichte unverkennbar ist.' Elle prefere o pathetico episodio final da versão de Almeida-Garrett [=C1, a unica portugueza que conhecia], bem que vislumbre n'elle [com razão] uma interpolação posterior.

A5.—O *rifacimento* moderno em castelhano A5, extando sómente como folheto solto e não encontrando-se impresso em nenhuma colecção de romances, faço-o seguir ahi *in extenso*.

CANCIÓN NUEVA DEL GERINELDO,

en la que se expresan los amores y fuga de un oficial ruso con la bella Enilda, sultana favorita del Gran Señor.

- I. Se hallaba en Constaninopla
un joven ruso lucido,
al rervicio del Sultán,
siendo de todos querido:
5 Gerineldo se llamaba
este oficial distinguido,
y por su heroico valor
logró el nombre de aguerrido.
- II. El gran Señor le tenia
10 un afecto decidido,
estando ya tan prendado
de su gallardía y brío,
que para mas demostrarlo
le confirió el gran destino
15 de capitán de su guardia,
y secretario efectivo.
- III. Con todos estos honores
estaba muy complacido,
hasta que vino á turbarlo
20 el rapaz, niño Cupido;

⁵ *Proben*, p. 57.

pues viendo á la hermosa Enildas,
que era en belleza un prodigio,
la Sultana favorita
del gran Sultan, quedó herido.

- IV. 25 Una hermosa mañana
de Mayo alegre y florido,
por el jardin paseaba
Gerineldo pensativo:
á poco que habia andado
30 se encontró con el hechizo
atractivo de su amor,
y de esta suerte la dijo:
- V. —Tu belleza, gran señora,
me tiene de amor rendido,
35 y mi pecho os adora
con el mas fino cariño;
pero no porque os ame,
como os declaro atrevido,
se ofenda vuestra hermosura,
40 dejándome en el olvido.
- VI. —Gerineldo, Gerineldo,
Gerineldito querido;
bien conozco que el amor
te ha hecho tan atrevido;
45 mas no creas que por eso
caigas jamás en olvido
de quien tiernamente te ama
hace tiempo sin decirlo.
- VII. —Bella Enildas, tu respuesta
50 me ha dejado sumergido
en un mar de pensamientos,
sin lograr seguro asilo;
pues noto la diferencia
que va de tu culto al mio,
55 y no abandono mi ley
por tu amor, ni mi destino.
- VIII. —No desmayes, Gerineldo,
que amor todo lo ha vencido;
estoy de ti enamorada,
60 y esto basta, dueño mio;
pero has de ser reservado
á cuanto ahora te digo;
hablarte esta noche quiero
en este jardin sombrío.
- IX. 65 —Verdad es de que amor vence,
pues tiene gran poderio,
y expondré hasta mi existencia
si tal fortuna consigo:
mas siendo criado vuestro
70 creo que os burlais conmigo.

- ¿A qué hora de la noche
cumplireis lo prometido?
- X. —Entre las doce y la una,
que estará el Sultan dormido;
75 para tal hora te espero,
que vendrás bien prevenido:
tres vueltas da á su palacio,
pero siempre con sigilo,
las botas lleva en la mano,
80 y no serás de él sentido.
- XI. Eternas fueron las horas
para el amante rendido:
deseando por instantes
verse con su amor unido:
85 cumplió fielmente la cita,
resuelto, animoso y fino,
y entró al cuarto de la dama
sin ser de nadie sentido.
- XII. El Sultan quiere vestirse,
90 mas no encuentra su vestido;
que llamen á Gerineldo,
que es su oficial mas querido:
unos dicen que no estaba
otros que no habia venido,
95 y el Gran Señor receloso,
se levantó comedido.
- XIII. Al saberlo Gerineldo;
se quedó despavorido,
todo confuso y turbado,
100 creyéndose ya perdido:
la sultana lo animaba,
y él respondió afligido:
¡á dónde iré, mi hermosura!
¡á dónde me iré, Dios mio!
- XIV. 105 —No te aflijas, Gerineldo,
que siempre estaré contigo:
márchate por el jardin,
que luego al punto te sigo:
obedeció á la sultana,
110 haciendo lo que le dijo,
y el Sultan que está en acecho
se hizo el contradizo.
- XV. —¿A dónde vas, Gerineldo?
¿cómo estás tan pensativo?
- 115 —Recorriendo aquestas matas
por ver si han florecido;
y una rosa muy fragante
el calor me la ha comido.
—Mientes, mientes, Gerineldo,
120 como villano atrevido.

- XVI. Estando en esto el Sultan
un gran pliego ha recibido;
ábrelo y en el instante
todo el color ha perdido.
- 125 —Que prendan á Gerineldo,
y encierren en un castillo:
marchando determinado
á cumplir lo contenido.
- XVII. Entonces la hermosa Enildas,
130 acude á aquel mismo sitio,
infórmase muy en breve,
y conociendo el peligro,
sin esperar á que vuelva
el Sultan enfurecido,
135 salta la verja ligera,
guiada del ciego niño.
- XVIII. Fúgase á la gran Tartaria
con su amante y fiel amigo,
en dos fogosos caballos,
140 mudando traje y vestido,
y con las joyas que lleva
en un rico cofrecillo,
una vida regalada
á su dueño ha prometido.

A7, Cle Chap. iii, b, 5 (col. 477).—Com os versos 39-41 da versão 4 de Pidal (=A7)

Buscaba el Rey las espadas,
las espadas de más filo;
cogiera el Rey la dorada....,

e o verso 59 da lição de Garrett (=C1)

Tira el rei seu punhal de oiro,

confrontem-se os seguintes que saco do canto quadregésimo da collecção de Nigra, intitulado *Il Moro Saracino*. Na variante 'A,' linha 13 lê-se:

O tirè-me giù mia speja,
cula del pùgnal d'or fin

(=deitai-me abaixo a minha espada, aquella co'o punhal d'oro fino); na lição 'D,' l. 7 falla-se da *spadinha cun òl pùgnal d'argent*, e a variante 'E,' l. 8 parece-me que apresenta o melhor texto, dizendo:

Campè-me giù la mia spadinha
cun òl so pum andorà

(=atirai-me abaixo a minha espada com o punho dourado). Allude-se á agudeza da arma na versão 'B,' l. 9:

O dunei-me la mia speja,
cula del fil 'n po' pi sutil

(=aquella com o fio um pouco mais agudo).

A9 e note 41.—Os já citados *Estudos* da Snra C. M. de Vasconcellos trazem uma analyse da introdução apocrypha d'este romance.⁶ Antes de resumil-a, transcrevo os treze versos em questão:

Mes de mayo, mes de mayo,
mes de mayo, mes de flores,
cuando los toritos brabos,
cuando los recios calores,
5 cuando los inamorados
gozaban de sus amores
Quando Gerineldo yiba
á dar agua á sus caballos
á los corrientes del mar.
10 Mientras el caballo bebe
Gerineldo echó un cantar.
La Infanta desde lo oye
le encomenzó á llamar . . .

[segue:—Gerineldo, Gerineldo,
15 mi camarero benlno, etc.].

Este preludio compõe-se de tres remendos diversos. O primeiro trecho (1-6; assonancia *ó-e*) é tirado 'do celeberrimo e melancolico Romance do *Prisioneiro*' ou d'um simples '*Romance de Maio*, do genero dos que foram accrescentados ao Romance do *Prisioneiro*.' Comparem-se os versos 37-40, 43-44 do nº 372 del '*Romancero Gral*' de Durán:

Mes de mayo, mes de mayo,
cuando las recias calores,
cuando los toros son bravos,
los caballos corredores; . . .
cuando los enamorados
regalan á sus amores,

e tambem os numeros 1453, 1-4 e 1454 1-2, 5-6.

Para o segundo centão (7-11; ass. *á*) a recitadora aproveitou-se d'uns versos dos romances do *Conde-Niño*, ou *Pedro Menino*, on *Dom Diniz*, etc. Cf., por exemplo, Da Veiga, *Romanceiro do Algarve*, p. 65 (*Dom Diniz*):

1 Já se li vai Dom Diniz
3 ver dar agua ao seu cavallo
4 li para as ribas do mar;
9 em quanto o russo bebia,
10 elle se p'z a cantar,—

Almeida-Garrett, *Rom.* iii, p. 19 (*Conde Nillo*), v. 1-4:

Conde Nillo, conde Nillo
seu cavallo vai banhar;
em quanto o cavallo bebe,
armou um lindo cantar—

e Braga, *Romanceiro Geral*, nº 14 1-4, Pidal, *Roman. Astur.* nº 25 3-8, 26 3-6.

⁶ *Rev. Lusit.* ii, pp. 194-196.

A terceira parcella, de duas linhas apenas (12, 13; ass. *á*), provem d'um dos romances do segundo cyclo de *Gerineldo*, e está calcada sobre os versos 5,6 (ou 90, 91) do nº ii b da *Folkpoesi* de Munthe.—

Resta dizer duas palavras acerca do falso remate da lição de Munthe (linhas 82-85; ou, sem contar a exposição apocrypha: 69-727). Eis a copla:

Tengo juramento hecho,
á la Birgen de la Estrella,
mujer que ha sido mi dama
de no me casar con ella.

Este 'rabo-leva postico e muito vulgar,' na origem uma *copla solta* com *rima* nas linhas 2 e 4, 'faz hoje parte de uma versão, inédita, da *Galancina*, cujo teor se aproxima muito da lição publicada por Durán (nº 329),' e parece-se tambem ao final do romance de *Tenderina*, v. Pidal, nº 8.⁸

C1.—Além das versões de *Gerineldo* que commentei, ha outra brasileira recolhida no estado de Minas-Geraes, da qual Santa-Anna Nery traz uma traducção franceza de 160 linhas curtas ou versos, no seu *Folk-lore Brésilien*, pp. 17-22:

1,2 Reginaldo, Reginaldo,
page chéri du roi, etc.

Um exame d'esta lição luso-brazileira, que no meu primeiro tractado interpôr-se-hia entre as lições C1 e C2, prova que é apenas uma variante da de Garrett, com levissimas modificações (v. 29: mulâtreses; v. 42: *vieux roi* ?);

⁷ Cf. a 'note 29' do meu "*Eginhard et Emma*," e cols. 464, 465.

⁸ O distincto romanista sueco Ake W: son Munthe, a quem devemos a publicação d'esta versão (A9) do *Gerineldo*, parece que tem morrido recentemente. A Snra de Vasconcellos escreve-me que, ha annos, nem ella nem outros sabios t'm recebido d'elle resposta alguma ás suas cartas e pedidos. Na *Rev. Lusit.* o sr. Gonçalves Vianna tem-se occupado (I, 279-285) das suas *Anteckningar om Folkmalet i en trakt af vestra Asturien*, Upsala 1887, e a snra C. M. de Vasconcellos ainda mais detidamente (II 156-179 e 193-208) dos dezasete romances archivados na sua *Folkpoesi från Asturien*, I, Upsala 1888. A segunda parte d'esta publicação, *Korta visor*, e a terceira, *Barnvisor och barnrim*, pareceram em 1889. Ademas Munthe deu duas contribuições para o *Recueil de mémoires philologiques présentés à M. G. Paris par ses élèves su. dois le 9 ao. t 1889*, a saber: "Observations sur les compos's espagnols du type *aliabierta*," e: "*Romance de la tierra*, chanson populaire asturienne," assim que um artigo, "Vermischte spanische Beiträge," na *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. xv (1891).

a única notável é a falta do episodio do conselho e juízo dos condes (=C1 97-104).

Nestas circumstancias é força dizer em justificação da lição C1, que evidentemente o grande *acconciatore di romanze*, Almeida-Garrett, não se permittiu as numerosas alterações mais ou menos arbitrárias, que se suppunha. Pois se este romance verdadeiramente vive na boca das povoações brasileiras, não se poderá crêr que fosse importado pelo 'Romanceiro' de Garrett, senão unicamente pela tradição oral dos imigrantes portugueses de data anterior.

C1b (cols. 468, 469), C4, e Chap. iii, c, 10 (col. 481) deveria mencionar-se a definição que Almeida-Garrett dá do *soldo* como genero de poesia popular. "É um canto epico ornado, em que as effusões lyricas acompanhão a narrativa de tristes successos, mais para gemer e chorar sobre elles, do que para os contar ponto por ponto."—

Col. 481:—Tambem F. Wolf⁹ compara o episodio do carcere com o romance catalão "O poder do canto," do qual traz uma traducção allemã.¹⁰ Enquanto a similhaça desta scena com as versões do *Conde Nillo*, etc., veremos mais adiante.

Note 62.—Outro testemunho da popularidade de *Gerineldo* encontra-se na primeira d'uma serie de coplas soltas, que formão uma especie de canção burlesca,¹¹ e foram publicadas por D. Tomas Segarra, nas *Poesias populares*, Leipzig 1862, p. 163. Eil-a ahi:

La madre de Gerineldo
llora con grande dolor,
Gerineldo de mi alma,
Gerineldo de mi amor.

Esta *cuarteta* recorda o pranto da mãe na scena do carcere (em C1b).

Nos *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, philosophisch-historische Klasse, vol. 16, anno de 1855, F. Wolf publicou um estudo sobre a *Comedia famosa de la reina Maria* de Lope de Vega, a qual se nunca imprimiu e cujo autographo,

⁹ *Rom.* ii, pp. 128, 129.

¹⁰ *Proben*, p. 57, nota.

¹¹ *Proben*, pp. 129, 130.

¹² E aproximão-se do *amphiguri*. Cf. *Rev. Lusit.* ii, p. 95: 'amphiguri é uma poesia popular em que, para rir, as ideias se apresentão desconexas.'

antes na bibliotheca do Duque de Osuna, se acha agora na do Principe de Metternich. Nella, D. Guillen, na sua relação ao rei D. Pedro (ii, o Catholico, de Aragão) diz (p. 261):

Salgo entonces de las matas,
¡pardios! como un *Gerineldo*...

d'onde Wolf infere, visto o conjuncto da situação, que em tempos de Vega o nosso heroe era proverbial com a ideia accessoria do 'atrevido.' (Tambem uma cópia do romance, que veio do Porto, trazia por titulo 'Girinaldo o atrevido,'¹³ e o mesmo sobrenome apparece em C1 4 e na lição luso-brazileira, l. 4: *l'audacieux*; cf. A5 8: *aguerrido*).

Note 64.—Em 1893 pareceu no Porto o *Cancioneiro de Musicas Populares para canto e piano*, por Cesar das Neves, coordenada a parte poetica por Gualdino de Campos, prefaciado pelo ex^{mo} snr. Sr. Theophilo Braga. Cf. *Rev. Lusit.* iii, pp. 190-192.—Note-se um juizo da snra C. M. de Vasconcellos:¹⁴ "Der als Musikforscher namhafte, in litterarischen Fragen aber höchst unsolide Soriano Fuertes."

Note 67.—Para os instrumentos de musica vêja-se tambem Milá y Fontanals, na *Romania*, tomo vi (1877), p. 56, ou nas *Obras Completas*, t. v, p. 375.—

Passando agora aos romances que contão a segunda parte dos amores de *Gerineldo*, advirto que vou dar o meu commento prescindindo de uma investigação da origem d'estes romances, como a deixo esposta a largos traços para a primeira secção,¹⁵ sendo ella indispensavel naquelle caso por causa das questões que levanta a sua importação forasteira.

Eis pois o que tenho que dizer respeito á Segunda Secção do Romance de *Gerineldo*, ou seja:

A INFANTA PEREGRINA E GERINELDO.

Entre as versões do romance de *Gerineldo* commentadas na "Tradition d'Éginhard" ha algumas que com a original aventura do heroe fundem outra inteiramente independente. Ainda este episodio adicional apresenta feições muito divergentes nas varias lições, como

¹³ Cf. Almeida-Garrett, *Rom.* ii, p. 165.

¹⁴ No *Grundriss*, vol. 2a secção, p. 166.

¹⁵ MOD. LANG. NOTES, vii, columnas 451-456.

ver-se-ha das seguintes analyses.

A lição Clb, assim que a sua variante brasileira, annexa ao corpo do romance o episodio principiando

'Já o mettem n'uma torre,
já o vão incarcerar.'

Almeida-Garrett, *Rom.* ii, p. 172 e Hardung, *Romanceiro Portuguez* i, p. 113. Trinta e dois pares de linhas (versos 105-168): assonancia á, á excepção dos desaseis versos 137-152 (do), de que facto não ha necessariamente que inferir que o texto esteja corrompido.¹⁶

Já trouxemos (vol. vii, cols. 468, 469 e 481) o argumento d'este romance: a incarceration de *Reginaldo*, a intervenção da mãe, o *soldo* do 'pobre sem ventura, a quem el-Rei escuta e liberta para fazel-o casar com a Infanta.

Outro motivo, que representa a verdadeira segunda parte dos amores de *Gerineldo*, vem tratado nos seguintes romances, todos castelhanos-asturianos:

1. 'Romance de Gerineldo.'
Grandes guerras se publican
de España con Portogale

Jahrbuch, vol. iii (1861), p. 290. Versão de vinte e sete pares de linhas (ou, sem o falso remate: vinte e cinco), recitada a Amador de los Rios por Maria del Rosario Fernandez Gamonada (ou Gamonede), natural de Lueca (Asturias). Assonancia á-e.

Tradução allemã de Paul Heyse, no *Jahrbuch*, iii, p. 295.

Argumento.—Depois de estalar a guerra, Gerineldo é nomeado capitão general (1-4), e diz á Princeza que póde casar se elle não voltar aos sete annos (5-8). Os sete abriles paixão, ella pede licença a seu pae para o sahir a buscar, anda por tres 'reinados' e, ao voltar, topa com um rico yacale (9-16).

Dialogo:—Vaquerito, vaquerito,
por la santa Trinidade,
que me niegues la mentira,
que me digas la verdad.
¿De quién es esa vacada . . . ?

Tendo sabido que pertence a Gerineldo

que aquí está para casarse,

da *una moneda* ao vaqueiro, e faz-se levar á casa festiva (17-28).

¹⁶ Cf. a observação da snra C. M. de Vasconcellos, *Rev. Lusit.* ii, p. 206, "A Barba Azul."

Dialogo:—Gerineldo, Gerineldo,
una limosnita daime . . .

Ella recebe dous maravidis da mão do seu antigo amante e intima-lhe que faz mesquinha esmola

para la que en mi palacio
antaño solias dare! (29-36).

Dialogo:—Pelegrina ¿eres el diablo
que me vienes á tentare?

A Princeza assevera ser sua esposa legitima e prova-o por meio d'um 'papel' que lhe ensina: Gerineldo reconhece-a e vae casar com ella (37-44). Os dous noivos mandão apparelhar os coches e desatão a cantar, acautelando os seus cavallos de não beberem a agua do mar [!] (45-54).

2. Grandes guerras se publican
entre España y Portugal.

Pidal, *Rom. Astur.*, no. 5b. Recitado em Grado (Asturias) por José Fernandez, natural de Santianes de Molenes. Vinte e seis pares de linhas, assonancia á.

Gerineldo, capitão general (4), despede-se da *Infantina* (5-8); . . . ella veste-se de romeira e encontra a um rabadão (9-16). Quando aprende que Gerineldo está para casar, cae desmaiada (17-24); conteúdo de 25-28 = 1. Ella pede esmola e Gerineldo encarrega-a de dizer á *Princesina* que já póde casar (29-36).

Dialogo:—'Romera, ¿eres el demonio . . . ?'

Ella da-se a conhecer, accrescentando porém que a boda será por D^a Elvira, e que ella se hade retirar n'um convento.

—No será así, Princesina,
contigo quiero casar. (37-46).

Os amantes reconciliados partem

para celebrar las bodas
en Francia la natural. (47-52).

3. Fué publicada la guerra
en Francia y en Portugal.

Munthe, *Folkpoesi*, nº 2b (=2, 86-147). Recitado en Cangas de Tineo por Antonia Coque, oriunda de Posada de Rengos (Asturias). Trinta e um pares de linhas, ass. á.

Capitão general (1-4 ou 86-89); a Infanta começa a chorar (5,6):

Gerineldo, Gerineldo,
¿cuánto tiempo has de tardar? . . . (7-12 ou 92-97).

Sete annos, etc., (15 ou 100): 'se bistió de

pelegrina,' encontra uma 'bacada' e uma 'buyada' (13-22 ou 98-107). O dialogo

(23 ou 108) Díme, dime, baquerillo,
dinero te tengo á dar . . .

contem alguns insulsos modernismos :

(29 ou 114) —Sifiora, es de Gerineldo,
está en b'apurá de casar,
en la Carrera del Perro,
en la casa principal,
numaro seis, gran sifiora
esta es la pura berdá (23-34 ou 108-119).

O dialogo entre a peregrina e a gente da casa apresenta mais umas interpolações hodiernas :

(35-38 ou 120-123)—¡Ave Maria puríssima !
—¡Sin pecado original!
—¡podrán dar una limosna
por la santa 'Ternidad?'¹⁷

El mismo lhe sae a dar *un rial de plata* ;—

(45 ou 130) —¿Dónde es V., la romera . . . ?
(47 ou 132) —De Castilla soy, señor . . .
(49 ou 134) ¿Tan desconocida soy
que no me conoces ya ?

Dialogo entre as duas rivaes :

(51 ou 136) ¡Atrás, atrás la romera . . . !
(55 ou 140) —Atrás, atrás la sifiora . . . ?
(57 ou 142) —que si V. es hija de un conde
yo soy de un rey que unda es mas.

A quadra final (59-62 ou 144-147)

—Quédense con Dios, señores
y alcalde d'este lugar,
que los amores primeros
son muy malos de olvidar—

parece indicar que os antigos amantes partem reconciliados, despedindo-se de improviso Gerineldo dos convidados reunidos para presenciar a sua boda com a segunda noiva. As palavras é verdade que são susceptíveis d'outra interpretação, que é que, pronunciadas pela Infanta, seriam o seu postreiro adeus ao infiel amante e aos hospedes d'elle.

Deitemos agora uma rapida olhada sobre alguns romances que, sem terem conservado o nome do protagonista, trazem essencialmente a mesma aventura. O primeiro d'elles é castelhano e chama o heroe *Conde Sol* ; o outro com as suas variantes é catalão (ou semi-catalão), e appellida-o com diferentes nomes.

4. "Romance caballeresco del Conde (del) Sol,"
Grandes guerras se publican
entre España y Portugal.

¹⁷ Não se deve entender 'Eternidade,' senão 'Trindade'
—cf. *Rev. Lusit.*, ii, p. 197.

Durán, *R. Gral.* nº 327 ; e *Primavera*, nº 135 (vol. ii, p. 48). Romance antigo tradicional, artisticamente refundido ; ainda se conserva e passa de boca em boca na Andaluzia e terra de Ronda. Sessenta e um pares de linhas, assonantes em *á-e*. O Conde Sol, capitão general, despede-se d'el-Rei e de sua jovem esposa desfeita em pranto (1-14). A Condeza vai buscal-o na Italia e na França ; vaccada (15-36). Interrogatorio sobre o dono das vacas, dos trigos, das ovelhas, dos cordeiros, jardins e cavallos :

—y ¿quién es aquella dama
que un hombre abrazando estae?
—La desposada señora
con que el Conde va á casare. (37-64).

A Condeza veste o grosseiro saial do vaqueiro e faz-se levar ao portal para pedir esmola (65-74). Reconhecimento (75-102) e partida dos amantes sobre um cavallo ricamente caparaçoado, para o castello onde o Conde *es señor naturale* (103-118), deixando a noiva mal parada, despojada dos seus enfeites nupciaes e sem casar (119-122).

5. 'La boda interrumpida.'
Las guerras son publicadas
las de Fransa [y] Portugal.

Milá y Fontanals, *Rillo Cat.* nº 244, lição A ; trinta e treis pares de linhas, assonancia *á*.

Ao Conde Don Bueso, filho do Conde Don Burgos

l'han cridat per general. (1-4).

Despedida (4-14). Passados os sete annos o pae desêja que a Condeza torne a casar ; ella refusa, vae em busca do Conde, descansa traz d'uma torre e vê passar a uns pagesinhos (15-32).

Dialogo :—¿Aquesta cavalleria
por que la quieren ensellí ?
—Pel fill del Conde Don Burgos
qu'esta nit se quiere esposí,

etc. (33-40).—Esmola ; o Conde pergunta por novas da Italia e de sua mulher ; ella descobre-lhe a sua identidade por um *anell d'or* e o rico *faldellí* que trazia no dia da boda (41-60). Reconciliação (61-66).

5.B. El Rey n'ha fet f: unas cridas
per Espanya y Portugal.

Ibidem.—trinta e um pares de linhas, ass. *á*.

O heroe é *Don Lombardo Ramire*. A *senyora* ou *dama* faz-se acompanhar de criados

e encontra a um pagem cerca d'uma fonte de-
frente d'uma cidade. Dialogo com o pagem,
depois com o Conde :

39 sq :— Deu lo quart, lo senyor Comte,
jem voldria fé una c'ritat?
yo vinch de d'allí d'Italia,
l'entendiment m'ha faltat.—

Reconhecimento.—

Das outras versões C-G, todas fragmenta-
rias no *Romancerillo* e assonantes em 4, terei
que dizer algumas palavras mais adiante.

(E: El Conde de Berjullita
á la guerra te d'aní . . .

F: Las guerras se son cridades
por Francia y á Portugal . . .).

Entro agora na confrontação dos elementos
constitutivos.

OS PERSONAGENS.

O protagonista *Gerineldo* 1, 2, 3, de humilde
pagem que é nos romances do primeiro cyclo,
é promovido¹⁸ á dignidade de capitão general,
e as versões congêneres substituem ao seu
nome o de *Conde (del) Sol* 4, *Conde Don*
Bueso, filho do *Conde Don Burgos* 5A, *Don*
Lombardo Ramire 5B, *Don Llambazo* 5F,
Don Jaime ou *Conde Elias* 5C e G, *Conde*
Elrico 5D, *Conde de Berjullita* 5E.

O nome da heroína, *Enilda(s)* em duas
versões (A4 e 5) do primeiro cyclo, não apa-
rece na segunda parte. Como na primeira
secção, ella é filha de rei: *Princesa* 1, 2, *Prin-*
cesina 2; *Infanta* 3, *Infantina* 2; 4 e 5 fazem
na esposa leal do Conde; seu pae menciona-se
em todas as versões, exc. 3; 4 e 5 fazem
menção d'um rei, quem, porém, nada tem que
ver com a esposa do Conde.

O nome da competidora, *Doña Elvira* 2 42,
lembra pelas suas vogaes e o acento tonico, o
de *Enilda (vide supra)*; em 3 55, 57 ella é
designada simplesmente como *la señora, hija*
de conde, em 4 63 como *la desposada señora*
e 119 *la novia*, em 5F (fim) como *la pobre*
de la promesa, em quanto que nas outras
versões a sua existencia se infere sómente
da circumstancia de o heroe estar para casar.

Tocante a *geographia* dos nossos romances
—que há uma até no folklore—duas palavras
bastarao. Em 2, *Gerineldo* é um nobre fran-
cez, ou de extracção franceza: para celebrar

¹⁸ Cf. Pidal, *Rom. Astur.*, p. 285; e *Rev. Lusit.*, II, p.
196.

a boda elle volta para *Francia la natural* (l. 52);
tambem na linha 35 se menciona a França.
Em 5A 43-46 elle suppõe-se oriundo da Italia,
ou ter-se estabelecido na Italia, porque a
Condeza o vae buscar naquella paiz; em 5B
41 ella até volta *de d'allá d'Italia*, e em 4 31
peregrina *por Italia y Francia*, em quanto
que ás versões 5C e E lhes basta fazel-a recor-
rer a vizinhança de Carthagena ou de Sevilha.
—Em 3 47, 48 e 484 a Infanta (ou sêja Condeza)
declara ser natural de Castella ou de His-
panha. E bem certo que lhe podemos vindicar
o sangue hispanico em todas as lições,
porque em todas o centro ou meio geographico
no qual se colloca ou de que parte a acção, é
a Peninsula, o theatro da guerra fixando-se
n'ella. (Á Hispanha é verdade que em 3 e 5A,
F se substitue a França, tão familiar aos anti-
gos jograes, ao pass que o nome de Portugal
se mantem em todas as variantes).

OS MOTIVOS.

I. Das duas versões (Pidal nº 5 e Munthe
nº 2) nas quaes este romance se encontra íntima
e, na consciencia do povo, inseparavelmente
fundido com o primeiro romance de *Gerineldo*,
sómente a primeira procura estabelecer entre
elles um rigoroso nexu mental, interpolando
as duas linhas :

Yo iré á la guerra, señor,
para echárselo (i. e. o vestido) mas fino,

Cf. vol. vii, col. 464, '8bis.'

a. SEPARAÇÃO.

II. Grandes guerras se publican . . . ; o
heroe, capitão general.

III. despede-se da Infanta com quem el-Rei
(na conclusão da primeira parte) acaba de o
casar [2, 6 'voime fortuna á buscar']—ou sêja
da Condeza sua esposa, dando-lhe nas mais
versões formalmente a permissão de casar se
elle não voltar dentro de certa epoca. Pranto
da mulher 3, 4, 5.

b. PEREGRINAÇÃO.

IV. Os sete annos tradicionaes do folklore
transcorrem—seis, oito e até dez annos no
Conde Sol—sem o heroe voltar nem dar
novas.

V. A Infanta, etc., pede licença a seu pae
para ir a buscar a seu marido. As versões
aparentadas 4, 5 amplião um pouco esta

scena; em 5D o pae da a permissão com as palavras:

Demana 'n á la Diosa (!)
que llicencia t'en dará.

VI. Tendo vestido de romeira (*romerita* 5C, *pelegrina* 5E etc.), ella anda tres 1 ou sete reinos 2, ou *cient leguas*, *para las quinientas ba* 3, *cient leguas* 5A, *siete leguas* (!) 5C; em 4 ella caminha pela França e Italia em busca do marido. Em 5B a Condeza

de promte demana als criados
que la vajin acompañá—

o que parece um modernismo bastante insipido.

VII. A romeira topa com uma vaccada. Interrogatorio dirigido ao rabadão sobre o dono da fazenda, acabando com a nova de Gerineldo estar em vespas de casar.—Esta scena, muito mais comprida e elaborada no romance do *Conde Claros* (4 37-64) do que nos outros, é, com varios outros rasgos, uma prova de o dito romance ser uma ampliação artistica do assumpto poetico que vem tratado na segunda parte do *Gerineldo*. Teremos que dizer mais umas palavras sobre este ponto na conclusão do presente artigo.

Note-se, no questionario da Princeza, uma das phrases feitas do folk-lore peninsular:

que me niegues la mentira,
que me digas la verdade— 1, 19, 20.

e, parecidamente, em 3 e 4. E mais um rasgo. Em 1, 18 e 4, 38 a romeira conjura o rabadão pela santa Trindade que falle a verdade; ella serve-se da mesma invocação para obter de seu pae a permissão para a sua peregrinação 4 24, quando pede esmola 3 38 ou 123, e em 5A 14 quando objecta a seu pae, commo não ser licito

que mientras el Conde visca
Condesa 's torni á casá.

Em 4 66 a Condeza pede o saial do vaqueirinho *por la santa Soledade*.

Um incidente particular á variante de Pidal: a romeira, depois de ouvir a fatal nova,

cayó al suelo desmayada (2, 23).—

Nos romances da *Boda interrumpida* não há vaccada nem rabadão; ahí, uns *pagecitos* A, ou um *patge chico* 5B, vêm a passar com os cavallos de *Don Lombardo*, etc., para os

abrevar numa fonte. Dialogo muito breve.

O interrogatorio nos nossos romances 'recorda questionarios parecidos de varios contos e cantos nacionaes e internacionaes (*Gato com botas*.—*Marques de Carabás*, etc.),' conforme advirte a Snra C. M. de Vasconcellos.¹⁹ Wolf y Hofmann²⁰ enunciação semelhante juizo, o qual é rejeitado pelo Snr. Child.²¹

VIII. Em 1 e 2, a romeira da 'uma moeda' ao vaqueiro para que lhe ensine a casa e a leve ao portal; os pagens em 5A, B acompañão-na sem receber recompensa (Em 3 ella offerece o dinheiro ao principio do interrogatorio, l. 24 ou 109). Em 5B, somente agora a Condeza *s'en vesteix de pobrecita* (l. 35), e em 4 ella troca a sua roupa de seda pelo saial do vaqueiro para se apresentar na casa do Conde.

C. RECONCILIAÇÃO.

IX. A romeira pede esmola (*una c'ritat* 5B 40), o dono da casa da-lh'a (dous maravidis 1, um real de prata 3). Em 1 e 3 ella lembra-lhe que *en mi palacio* (ou: *dalgun dia*) . . . *mas limosna solia dar*. Em 2, Gerineldo encomenda-lhe que informe a Princeza que já está livre, em 5A pergunta por novas da Italia e de sua mulher; e em 5B, quando ella diz que a mulher do Conde chorará se ouvir que elle tornou a casar, elle pergunta:

¿com ne plorará la trista
si já n'es morta temps ha?—

Em 5E não se menciona a esmola, mas a peregrina

de tan lluny com lo va veure
al peu se li ajonollá.

X. Lucta interior e duvida do amante, quem crê ver o diabo diante de si vindo para o tentar 1, 2, 4.

XI. A peregrina da-se a conhecer por *sua mujer naturale, verdadera* ou *esposa leal*: em 1 ella faz-o por meio d'um 'papel,' nas variantes 5 por meio d'algun antigo recordo que lhe ensina (*faldellí e anell d'or* 5A, *diamant* 5B, *ab un reberó que porta al fondo del faldillá* 5F) ou ainda *amb el brillo en el parlá* 5C.—

¹⁹ Rev. Lusit. ii, p. 197.

²⁰ Primavera ii, p. 52, nota.

²¹ Ballads ii, p. 461, nota 2.

Em 2, a romeira, depois de se ter descoberto, declara que a boda será por a sua rival D^a Elvira e que ella vae rematar a sua vida n'um convento.

XII. O heroe vai casar com a fiel amante e parte com ella para o seu castello.—A forma original deste episodio final parece ter-se conservado em 2 47-52, abstrahindo talvez da menção feita da França na ultima linha; as linhas 103-118 de 4 são uma ampliação artistica da mesma scena, e o trecho correspondente (l. 45-50) de 1 tem sido em parte remodelado para poder serzir com o romance o accrescento posição seguinte:

No bebais, caballos mios,
de las orillas del mare,
porque está el agua salada
y puede faceros male.

Em quanto a esta allocução dirigida aos cavallos—originariamente uma formula de benção e de bom agouro, mas completamente disparatada na presente situação, e muito alterada da lição primitiva—, vêja-se *Rev. Lusit.* ii, p. 196. As variantes 5A,B reduzem a scena da partida ás palavras: *s'en gagan mano por mano y á casa van aná*, e: *al quarto varen entrá*; 5F: *los dos quedaren casats*.

A alegria dos amantes reunidos, não manifestada em 2, converte-se em *rico cantare* em 1; em 4 113, 114 a esposa

—de alegr'a y contento
no cesaba de llorar;

nas variantes catalãs parece que os actores dispõem d'uma particular profusão de pranto e outras delicadissimas expressões da sua emoção (*llosos* 5A: *patons y abrassadas* 5B; y *lloran qui mes podrá* 5D).

Conforme vimos mais alto, o texto da scena final de 3, depois da altercação das rivaes, admite duas interpretações divergentes, das quas a primeira, comtudo, parece preferivel, como mais conforme com o espirito geral da lenda.

XIII. Alguns dos romances congéneres mencionão a segunda noiva na scena do deslance. 4 diz que

qued dose ha la novia
vestidica y sin casare,

e 5F:

la pobre de la promesa
no feya sinó plorá;

estes ultimos versos são tirados *ipsissimis verbis* da versão 5A, 5, 6—scena do pranto da Condeza—, substituindo apenas a *promesa* pela *Condesa*,

XIV. O epimythio.—Na variante de Muntthe, Gerineldo 'fecha o romance com um epimythio em que se enuncia sentenciosamente'

que los amores primeros
son muy malos de olvidar,

o qual se encontra tambem, algum tanto deturpado, na 'Boda interrompida' 5A, como observação do poeta:

que las primeras mujeres
mal se poden olvidar.

No romance do Conde Sol, depois de descrever o estado de desamparo em que fica a rival engeitada, o poeta accrescenta, lembrando a gralha depennada da fabula:

que quien lo ajeno viste
desnudo suele quedar.²²

Depois de termos assignalado, nos argumentos e no exame comparativo dos motivos, as particularidades mais relevantes das varias versões, pouco resta dizer respeito á sua *autenticidade* relativa.

A variante 1 apresenta um bom texto popular; dicção sobria e singela; leve omissão depois da linha 8, confusão no desfecho, falso remate.

2 é igualmente uma redacção bastante estrema; umas poucas adulterações (linhas 6; 23; 35 e 52 a França; 41-44 D^a Elvira, convento) já se mencionáram.

O vulgarismo muito marcado que afeia e estraga toda a lição 3, com a sua oblitteração dos motivos, a deslocação de linhas e as infiltrações de modernismos e phrases convencionaes, não lhe faz merecer outro nome senão o d'uma recitação hodierna muito deturpada do nosso romance.—As tres ultimas quadras provão que o original directo d'esta variante differe do de todas as outras redacções.

As versões catalãs 5, estreitamente irmanadas pelo fundo com as castelhanas, têm conservado ainda ellas o cunho de populares castiças, apesar de apimentadas com uns poucos modernismos; algumas modificações: o pa-

²² Cf. as observações sobre os rifões e anexins d'esta classe, na *Rev. Lusit.* ii, pp. 178, 198, 199.

gem em lugar do vaqueiro, e os varios signaes pelos quaes a Condeza se da a conhecer (que recordão o 'papel' da lição 4).

O romance do *Conde Sol* 4, por muito mais detalhado e elaborado no desenho das situações e incidentes, presume de artistico e caracteriza-se como remodelação jogralesca da epoca escripta e de erudição. Mas não por isso devemos concluir que, na consciencia e na practica poetica popular, o nome do Conde Sol se associasse com o nosso romance mais tarde do que o de Gerineldo. Talvez haja razões para presumirmos o contrario. Eu, por minha parte, inclino-me a acceitar sem resrticção as luminosas observações do Snr. Menendez Pidal.²³ Tendo exposto como el-Rei obriga a Gerineldo a casar com a Infanta em castigo da sua culpa e lhe aconselha que a vista de saial, elle continúa: 'no conforme la multitud con la aristocrática tendencia de este sarcasmo, protestó de ella como pudo, haciendo del humilde paje un tipo pundonoroso y noble . . .', que conquista honores e riquezas e, já poderoso e bem quisto das gentes, vai casar em terras remotas com uma grande senhora. D'esta maneira os rhapsodes populares chegarão, por um simples cambio de nome, a serzir o romance do *Conde Sol* com o de *Gerineldo*, 'con el solo designio de dejar á éste mejor parado que de otra manera quedaba.'²⁴—Logo o texto 4 seria uma remodelação erudita do romance do *Conde Sol*, o qual na sua forma primordial era anterior aos de *Gerineldo* ii e serviu presumivelmente de modelo directo para elles.

Antes de concluir, quizera chamar a attenção para a surpreendente analogia—até nos pormenores da narração dos romances ahi commentados com certos cantos populares d'outros paizes.

1º Na *canzone di Moran d'Inghilterra*, da qual Nigra publicou duas versões (A, B),²⁵ não bem tem o heroe (*Moran, Morum, Mural, Morando*) casado (*sposato* ou *fidanzato*) com a filha do Sultão que a deixa; depois de transcorridos os typicos sete annos, ella caminha por toda a Inglaterra (n'outra versão; *girà tūta la Fransa*) e topa com um vaqueiro (*man-*

²³ *Romances Astur.*, p. 285.

²⁴ Cf. também *Rev. Lucit.* ii, p. 196, nota 1: 'O povo gosta muito das *Segundas Partes* . . .'

driano di vacche Gerolamo, Girom), ou com duas lavandeiras. Interrogatorio. Ella da de esporas ao seu cavallo, chega para a boda, e refusa de beber até que *Maran* a abraça e reconhece dona (*padrona*) da casa.

2º A ballada escoceza de *Lord Beichan* (*Young Beachen, Bekie*) e *Suzeta* (*Shusy, Susan*) *Pye*, filha do Moiro; quatorze variantes na collecção de Child,²⁶ quem nega que esta ballada estêja *derivada* da lenda de Gilberto Becket, pae do famoso arcebispo São Thomas Cantuariense,²⁷ e cita numerosas parallelas dinamarquezas, islandezas, noruegas, suecas (*Herre Per* e *Jomfrue Ellensborg*).

Assumpto parecido com o dos romances de *Gerineldo* ii e do *Conde Sol* encontra-se em mais algumas poesias populares, mas com os papeis cambiados, pois o marido é quem busca a dama. Taes são o extensissimo romance castelhano do *Conde Dirlos*²⁸ (ou: *d'Irlos*; 1366 linhas, ass. á-e) e a ballada de *Hind Horn*,²⁹ com analogias escandinavas, flamengas e allemãs. Também ha afinidade secundaria entre o nosso cyclo e o romance catalão da *Nobre Porqueira* e da *Má Sogra*:

'El Rey n'ha fet fé una crida,
una crida n'ha fet fé . . .—30.

Os romances da *Peregrina* e outros parentes dos de *Gerineldo* virão tratados em artigos especiaes, que espero dar ao prelo brevemente.

H. L. W. OTTO.

Cornell University.

KARL LENTZNER.

THE editors of the MOD. LANG. NOTES owe an apology to their readers for the publication of the article entitled "Historical Outline of the Danish Language" (MOD. LANG. NOTES,

²⁵ *Canti popolari* no. 42.—Il metro . . . è il doppio settenario tronco-piano, coll'assonanza nei piani. (Ex.: La fia d'el Sultān | l'è tan na fia bela).

²⁶ *Ballads* (ii), no. 53.

²⁷ *Ibid.* (ii), pp. 458, 459.

²⁸ Durán, *R. Gral.* no. 354, e *Primavera* (ii), no. 164.

²⁹ Child, *Ballads* (i), no. 17.

³⁰ Mil', *Rillo Cat.* no. 234 A-Ñ; ass. é.

June, 1895), signed by Karl Lentzner, now of Oxford, England. They also owe thanks to several of their readers who have kindly made them aware of the editorial oversight to which the appearance of Lentzner's article in these columns is due. The article in question is a translation of Holthausen's sanctioned translation of an article by Ludwig Wimmer. Holthausen's translation appeared in *Germania* xxxi (N. R. xix), pp. 357 f., and is dated Dec. 30, 1895. These are the facts. The only comment I deem necessary is to beg Lentzner to read and heed what I have said of him in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. ix, 502, and vol. xi, 512. Lentzner has now sinned most flagrantly in three instances which have been somewhat promptly discovered. If he has the temerity to continue in this way, editors will have to rely upon their own sagacity to keep them from being led into such humiliating apologies as that which I now make on behalf of the editors of this Journal.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PHILOLOGICAL CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—Mr. Greene writing in your February issue of the Philological Congress at Philadelphia, makes the following statement:

"This is the first occasion on which the Modern Language Association has become a fraction of a larger philological unit; for the simultaneous meetings of various societies held at Chicago in 1893 were an aggregate of integers. The program of the meetings at Philadelphia included both joint and simultaneous sessions."

I beg to say that the latter statement applies equally to the Chicago Congress, and that consequently the former statement is inaccurate. There were general sessions of the Chicago Congress on the twelfth and fourteenth of July, partly to bring the various bodies together, partly to do honor to our distinguished European guests. A reference to the programme (which I enclose) will substantiate this statement.

WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE,
Chairman Committee of Arrangements.

Chicago.

PHILOLOGICAL CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—I thank you for calling my attention to Mr. Payne's letter, and for giving me an opportunity to correct my statement, which, it appears, was not sufficiently guarded.

On referring to the programs of the general sessions, indicated by Mr. Payne, I find, however, that every paper presented was by a worker in ancient languages,—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Assyriology, Comparative Philology; also that the presiding officers (in both cases admirably chosen) were classical scholars. In the sense that no other meetings were appointed for the same hour, these meetings might be regarded as general sessions, as they were set down on the program: practically, however, they were meetings of the American Philological Association, which all were invited to attend. I attended the very interesting session of July 12th; but I felt that I was present as a member of the American Philological Association, not of the Modern Language Association. The Secretary of the Modern Language Association informs me that he was never consulted with regard to the general sessions.

The program of the joint session at Philadelphia, at which papers were read, was prepared by joint action of the secretaries of the various associations, which were represented in the program as follows:—the American Philological Association was represented by two papers; the American Oriental Society, by two papers; the Modern Language Association of America, by two papers; the Archaeological Institute of America, by one paper; the American Dialect Society, by one paper. This was, indeed, a joint program of a joint session: perhaps the terms "general session" and "joint session" will serve to indicate the difference in character between the meetings at Chicago and those at Philadelphia.

At the three joint sessions held at Philadelphia the presiding officers were the presidents, respectively, of the Modern Language Association of America, the American Philological Association, and the American Oriental Society.

HERBERT EVELETH GREENE.
Johns Hopkins University.

MICHEL STROGOFF AGAIN.*

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—I regret that matters of importance compelled me to overlook temporarily the interesting rejoinder of Professor Lewis to my review of his edition of Verne's *Michel Strogoff*.¹

I think I can show, to borrow the words of Gaston Paris,² that the editor has written "avec une vivacité qui, pour prendre volontiers une forme discrètement ironique, n'en est pas moins sensible."

Dr. Lewis thanks me for the review and then proceeds to correct "one or two suggestions" made therein. I propose to examine his corrections: "In such words as *complètement*," he remarks, "I retain Verne's spelling, for he often uses an acute accent over the *e* immediately preceding a mute *e*." What does Dr. Lewis mean? How "often" and where does Verne write an acute accent when other French writers use the grave? The Academy has been writing "*complètement*" since 1878,³ and it would seem strange that Verne has not fallen in line. The editor cites no examples to support his statement.—The word "*très*" does not occur in my review.—Dr. Lewis "thought" students would understand the reference to "Delaware;" but mine did not understand it. He further remarks: "Podaroshna is explained, *I think*, in the course of the text." So it is, undoubtedly; but the explanation (p. 18, l. 29) occurs just three pages beyond the first occurrence of the word (p. 15, l. 25).—Now as to "tarentass" and "télègue." I remarked simply that these words are not translated; their meanings are not differentiated.

In the English 'argument' on page 23 of the text, Dr. Lewis states that a "tarentass" is a Russian carriage, and he there also alludes to a "vehicle" preceding the "tarentass" in question. On page 24 of the text, Strogoff wonders who the travelers can be "dont la *télègue* précédait son tarentass." Right here

* This correspondence was received before that of Professor Garner was published in our last issue.

¹ See MOD. LANG. NOTES for May, 1895, vol. x, 300-308.

² In his criticism of Jeanroy's *Origines de la Poésie Lyrique*.

³ Hatzfeld et Darmesteter, *Dict. de la langue franç., s. v.*

the intelligent student looks in the notes to find the difference—if any there be—between "tarentass" and "télègue." The expected note is lacking, as I stated in my review, and not until the word "télègue" occurs again ten pages in advance of this point, are we told (p. 36, note) that the two vehicles are "two varieties of Russian vehicles." The word "iemschik" occurs first in line 6 of page 25, and it is in a note to line 6 page 25, that the student has a right to expect an explanation of the term. None is given. As in the case of "podaroshna," "télègue" and "tarentass," the desired information is given for the first time in a note to a subsequent page of the text.—I still think the note to "pour qui" too vague to be of service to the student, and the fact that Dr. Lewis "rather likes" the term "neuter pronoun" has no bearing on my observation that a reference to the grammar is here lacking.

I am quite aware that literal translation can be carried too far; I hardly thought it necessary to insist that a "cheval de fond" is a horse of good bottom, a horse that has wind and endurance, and not a dancing horse, for example, although such beasts are to be found, I believe, and we cannot deny that they have "good qualities."

Again, it is scarcely necessary for the editor to state anew so many accepted facts about the word *tout*; nor can I agree with the statement that "in an elementary text-book such niceties of spelling need not be considered, and especially as they are not mentioned in such a work as Whitney's large French grammar." That Whitney does not mention niceties of spelling is no proof that they—to keep the plural—are not desirable.

But it is the hypothesis with which Dr. Lewis begins the last paragraph of his "correspondence" that seems especially to demand examination. It appears that the editor read "whatever material he could find on Verne's life;" that he "was rather amused at three statements contained in generally reliable works;" and that his "amusement was caused by the wide difference of opinion on the birth and life of an author so well known as Jules Verne." "So" he continues, "I quoted these three statements." But when

the editor quotes a journal which distinctly states that Verne is a pen-name, he should surely mention that the quoted statement is contrary to fact. He writes in a note: "So far as I know at present" the statement in Johnson's *Cyclopædia* is correct. Why did he not state *definitely* which of his three conflicting sources contained facts? His note (quoted later) left me in doubt as to the nationality of Verne, for the note shows clearly that the editor was uncertain at the time of writing. In order to settle the point of nationality for my pupils I consulted various dictionaries of pseudonyms and wrote to M. Verne. The fact that the author was "not mentioned" in those dictionaries of pseudonyms dispelled doubts raised by the editor, and M. Verne's pleasant letter is evidence enough that "the dictionaries and catalogues cited by Mr. Symington" are not his only sources for the biography of contemporaries.

Dr. Lewis closes his rejoinder with irony which would perhaps be more effective if its point did not lie in the fact that my printed statement was misquoted. Surely he must have seen the importance of the bracketed numerals in my sentence "this (1828) is the correct statement," and yet he quotes the sentence, but omits the date!

Dr. Lewis thinks that when my remarks are compared with his biographical note most editors will agree with him "in thinking that such criticism is more careless, to say the least" than his note appears. Perhaps it will be well to quote, without omission, that part—the only part—of the Biographical Note in which allusion is made to the birth and nationality of Verne.

[BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.]

The material already in existence for Jules Verne's life is most meagre and contradictory. In the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica* (iv, p. 734), for example, we read that he was born at *Nantes* on the 8th of February, 1814. According to Johnson's *New Universal Cyclopædia* (iv, p. 1137) he was born at *Nantes* on the 8th of February, 1828.⁵ *The Dial* (xiv, p. 289), on the other hand, has the following quotation from the *London Literary World*: "Though the literary world does not seem to know it, 'Jules Verne' is only

⁴ Published M. L. N., x, 305.

a pen-name. The novelist is by birth a Pole—a native of *Warsaw*—and his real name is Olchewitz. When he began to write he adopted the expedient of translating the initial syllable of his family patronymic (which in English means 'beach') into its French equivalent, and in this way he got 'Verne'."

The estimates of the value of his works apparently differ to a like degree.

⁵ So far as I know at present, this is the correct statement].

W. STUART SYMINGTON.

Amherst College.

THE NOVEL AND THE STORY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—The criticism passed by Dr. Deering, in your November number, on my attempt to distinguish the novel from the story seems to me to be well-founded in theory and justified by facts; for instance, in the case of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which had occasioned me considerable perplexity. My own differentiation between the two had never been satisfactory to me, but intent only on tracing the one kind, I neglected to look into the essence of the other. Since Dr. Deering privately brought the matter to my attention some months ago, I have had no opportunity to test historically his definition of the story; nor is there in Cleveland sufficient material available for the purpose. But some questions arose while I was reading mediæval literature with the origin of the novel chiefly in view, which may be worth while to state.

One noticeable feature of the literature which tended to make up the romance of chivalry—the epic literature, roughly speaking—is that it was not used to any great extent by the later story-tellers. Even the *romans d'aventure*, which, in many cases, require but a prose form to make them excellent stories, are hardly ever drawn upon—so far at least as known manuscripts indicate. Indeed there would seem to be an almost conscious avoidance of the domain of the novel by the partisans of its lighter rival. The conclusion would be then that the ancestor of the story is not the same as the progenitor of the novel, and therefore that the essential difference between the novel and the story is inherited from a previous stage of existence, the poetical stage. This conclusion may be arbitrary, depending

on insufficient premises. Investigation will determine whether it is hasty or not.

This negative statement, as to what are apparently not the sources of the story, may be supplemented by a positive one as to its probable progenitors. The earliest compilation of stories which became popular in Europe is the Latin collection *Disciplina clericalis*, of Petrus Alphonsus. It was made up of moral tales taken from Arabian writers. This organized invasion of the West by Oriental parables was aided by the many scattered anecdotes which pilgrims, crusaders or merchants brought from the East, and by shorter collections in manuscript, such as the one passing under the name of *The Seven Wise Men*. With their moral summaries lopped off, all these narratives may have been made acceptable to the unlettered people.

Still the appetite for stories was not created in western Europe by these wanderers from distant lands. The poem known as *le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is abundant proof to the contrary, not to mention many other early intimations of the same spirit. This native liking for amusing episodes soon found literary expression in that form of poetry called *fableau*, which appeared in France by the middle of the twelfth century.

Now the first prose stories in the vernacular of which we have any evidence are to be found in Italian compilations of the last part of the thirteenth century. The earliest of these, which goes by the name of *Dodici Conti Morali*, contains eight stories, some certainly and others presumably the abridgment of French *fableaux* or poetical *contes dévots*. The *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, a little later in date, is more historical in theme and summarizes for the most part longer French poems, while the *Novellino* of about the same period is a much more ambitious collection of narratives from Latin and Italian sources as well as French. These tales were the precursors of Boccaccio's *novelle*. They prove that already, half a century and more before his day, it was the fashion to reduce the episodic poems of France to prose form, and multiply the narratives thus obtained by like themes gleaned from other literatures.

The question then is whether the prose ver-

sions of the French *fableaux* gave the model for these Italian *novelle*, just as the prose romances of the Breton cycle became the starting-point for the romances of chivalry. The tone of the *novella* is certainly akin to the tone of the *fableau*, though it rises at times to the more respectable tale of moral instruction. If the story began with the *fableau* it assimilated to itself all the lighter (in theme or form) fiction of the day, even to the reduction to a literary narrative of the more notable experiences of contemporary life. The *fableau* spirit would seem to prevail with Boccaccio, and yet the larger part of his *Decameron* he undoubtedly owed to entirely different sources. Possibly further discoveries of manuscripts, or the publication of what are already known but still neglected, may throw some light on the problem. Yet it would seem as though we have enough established facts to understand why the story differs from the novel in quality, as Dr. Deering urges, and not in quantity, as I affirmed. It is because their literary ancestors belonged to different clans.

F. M. WARREN.

Adelbert College.

CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

DEAR SIR:—The growing importance of educational interests in the western states has within the last years given rise to several organizations. The instructors of modern languages in western institutions have for some time felt the want of closer coöperation. For natural reasons the meetings of the Modern Language Association have been held almost exclusively in the East; distance and expense have thus deprived a large number of teachers of the direct benefits resulting from a personal acquaintance and a mutual exchange of thought and experience.

The initiative in a movement to provide instructors in the Middle West with the facilities of intercourse and coöperation was taken by representatives of the universities of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa. A circular letter issued in May to a number of modern-language men

selected from different sections called forth encouraging replies. On Friday, June 28, a preliminary meeting was held in Chicago by the men whose names had been suggested, to consider the question of a permanent organization. The communications sent by professors in leading institutions confirmed the conviction of all members present that a far larger number of modern-language teachers could be interested by a separate organization than by an occasional meeting of the Modern-Language Association in the West. It was unanimously agreed to avoid any conflict with the interests and support of the older association, and the pursuit of the common aim. The date of the annual meeting will be so chosen as to allow members to attend both associations.

The name of the society was decided upon as the CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE. The following officers and committees, to serve till the first regular convention, were appointed:

President: PROF. W. H. CARRUTH, University of Kansas.

Secretary and Treasurer: PROF. H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, University of Chicago.

Committee on Constitution:

PROF. CH. B. WILSON, Iowa State University.

PROF. G. E. KARSTEN, Indiana State University.

PROF. L. FOSSLER, Nebraska State University.

Committee on Programme:

PROF. G. E. KARSTEN, Indiana State University.

PROF. STARR W. CUTTING, University of Chicago.

PROF. W. M. BASKERVILL, Vanderbilt University.

PROF. H. EDGREN, Nebraska State University.

Committee on Arrangements:

PROF. H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, University of Chicago.

PROF. A. H. TOLMAN, University of Chicago.

PROF. J. D. BRUNER, University of Chicago.

The first meeting will be held at the University of Chicago, December 30-January 1. You are cordially and urgently invited to attend.

The enclosed Provisional Constitution of the Central Modern Language Conference will give an outline of the aims proposed.

Papers to be read at the convention should be sent (by title) to Prof. G. E. Karsten, Bloomington, Indiana, as early as convenient—before December 1—as a large number of contributions have already been secured.

More detailed information will be issued as soon as the programme is definitely settled upon and other arrangements perfected.

Trusting that you will lend your support to this undertaking and hoping for an early reply, I remain

Respectfully yours,

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,

Secretary of the C. M. L. A.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

ARTICLE I.

1. The name of this Society shall be THE CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

2. Its object shall be the advancement of the scientific study and teaching of the modern languages and literatures.

ARTICLE II.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of nine, composed of the above officers and four other members of the Conference.

3. The officers and the Executive Committee shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Conference at such place and at such time as at a preceding annual meeting shall have been determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Secretary and the Treasurer shall present their annual reports.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the meetings shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. The Executive Committee may call special meetings.

ARTICLE IV.

1. Any one recommended by the Executive

Committee may become a member of the Conference by the payment of two dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

2. Failure in payment of the annual fee for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

ARTICLE V.

1. All papers designed for the Conference shall be submitted, through the Secretary, to the Executive Committee at least one month in advance of the meeting, and the action of this Committee regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Conference, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at the last session of any regular annual meeting, provided the proposed amendments have received the approval of the Executive Committee.

Committee on Constitution.	{	Charles Bundy Wilson,
		State University of Iowa.
		Gustav E. Karsten,
		State University of Indiana.
		Laurence Fossler,
		State University of Nebraska.

CENTRAL MODERN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—The Central Modern Language Conference will have its first meeting in Chicago on Dec. 30 and 31, and Jan. 1st. President Harper will give an address of welcome and papers will be presented by Professors Eggert, late of Vanderbilt University, Food of Albion College, Gerber of Earlham College, Hempl of Michigan University, Howe of Butler University; Karsten and Leser of the University of Indiana; De Poyen, Schmidt-Wartenberg and Tolman of the University of Chicago. Further offers of papers will be welcome.

G. E. KARSTEN,

Chairman of the Program Committee.

The University of Indiana.

BRIEF MENTION.

The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America will be held at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., December 26, 27, 28. The President of the Association, Professor James Morgan Hart, will deliver an address December 26, at 8 o'clock, p. m. The following is a partial list of the papers which will be read at the regular sessions: Mr. Robert N. Corwin (Yale University), "Goethe's attitude toward contemporary politics;" Prof. Gustav Gruener (Yale University), "The *Nibelungenlied* and *Sage* in modern poetry;" Prof. J. T. Hatfield (Northwestern University), "John Wesley's translations (versions) of German hymns;" Prof. Andrew Ingraham (Swain Free School), "Overlapping and Multiple Indications;" Prof. L. Oscar Kuhns (Wesleyan University), "Treatment of Nature in the *Divine Comedy*;" Prof. M. D. Learned (University of Pennsylvania), "The Saga of Wilhelm Tell;" Prof. P. B. Marcou (Harvard University), "The origin of the rule forbidding hiatus in French verse;" Prof. John M. Manley (Brown University), "Marco Polo and the *Squire's Tale*;" Prof. A. R. Marsh (Harvard University), "The Comparative Study of Literature;" Prof. Brander Matthews (Columbia University), "The Conventions of the Drama;" Prof. Bliss Perry (Princeton University), "Fiction as a College study;" Prof. Thomas R. Price (Columbia University), "*Troilus and Criseyde*: a study of Chaucer's method of narrative construction;" Dr. J. H. Penniman (University of Pennsylvania), "Notes on Ben Jonson's Quarrel with Marston;" Prof. H. S. White (Cornell University), "The home of Walter von der Vogelweide;" Dr. Max Winkler (University of Michigan), "The sources of the dramaturgical ideas of Lenz;" Prof. George M. Wahl (Williams College), "Goethe's *Faust* and Ein Christlich Meynender;" Prof. C. H. A. Wager (Center College), "The *Seege of Troye*, a Middle English romance;" Prof. C. B. Wright (Middlebury College), "Two parallel studies in sociology: a comparison of certain features in a drama by Shakespeare and one by Ibsen."

Each member of the Association will soon receive a printed copy of the complete programme.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, MANAGING EDITOR.

JAMES W. BRIGHT, HANS C. G. VON JAGEMANN, HENRY ALFRED TODD,
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CATALOGUES.

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